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23/10/1780

MEMORIAL,

MOST HUMBLY ADDRESSED

T O T H E

SOVEREIGNS of EUROPE,

O N T H E

PRESENT STATE of AFFAIRS,

BETWEEN THE

OLD AND NEW WORLD.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite BURLINGTON HOUSE,

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P R E F A C E.

TH E Memorial which I herewith send you, was written by a Friend of mine, who is lately dead. It is of no consequence to the Publick to be informed who he was. What he was, and of what spirit, will appear by his Writing. A decisive misfortune in his personal relations had determined him to quit Europe, and to settle in America : He had arranged his affairs to that end ; and, although from the troubles which, in the interval of his preparations, arose in America, he suspended his actual settlement, in that Country ; yet

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he so far quitted Europe as to go and reside in the Azores or Western Isles, devoting himself to that study and contemplation which was best suited to console him under his misfortunes, and to reconcile him to the sacrifice which he was about to make of every thing that remained to him of what the World holds most dear. I had the happiness of corresponding with him while he lived there, and I received this from him, with leave (if ever a time should arrive, in which I should think it might be of use) to publish it, on this condition, that I would write "something of a Preface to it. I do not," (* says he) "like the Roman Statesman, say, *Orna me*. Leave me to oblivion, and in peace, for that is all I now seek. I am persuaded that the *General State* of facts, and of the present combination of events, is *true*: That the consequences which I point out, as flowing from them, are *probable*: And that the conduct which I describe as that with which these things should be met, is the best

* In a letter dated Nov. 1778, *Ponta del Gada* in *St. Michael's*.

" best wisdom for the Sovereigns of Europe,
 " by which they can promote the interest
 " of their States, or the happiness of their
 " People. If the events do not come for-
 " ward *at this Period* as I suppose, or just
 " *in the series of procession* as my reasoning
 " hath attempted to draw the line, that is
 " nothing to the age of the world, nor to
 " the growing system of a state. The thing,
 " therefore, which I ask of you, is, to show
 " how the general reasoning on the general
 " train of events, applies to the circum-
 " stances of the time whenever you shall
 " publish it: And that you will give it
 " (in French, or in any other language ge-
 " nerally understood) such a fashionable
 " dress, such as that the world may receive
 " it and understand it. Also, I wish that it
 " may be understood how sensible I am
 " that an *Apology* is necessary for my pre-
 " suming to address a Memorial to Sove-
 " reigns, on a subject in which they must
 " be supposed to be perfectly informed, and
 " in which your Friend, (it may be sup-
 " posed) can have so little practical informa-

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" tion. Although, in what I am going to
 " say, I shall shew no great art or address,
 " nor observe that conduct which would be
 " likely to recommend this Memorial to the
 " great world; yet, for truth's sake I will
 " say it, That I have always found that the
 " Sovereigns, as far as they are informed, and
 " are in circumstances to exert themselves,
 " have the interest and prosperity of their
 " subjects, the welfare and happiness of
 " mankind, more at heart, than it ever
 " enters into the heads or hearts of their
 " Ministers to conceive. It is for that rea-
 " son that I have presumed to address them.
 " I will set the great Henry of France at
 " the head of the first list: One has heard
 " of a Sully, a Fleury, a Clarendon, a
 " Somers, a De Witt, a * * * ; and for the
 " common good of mankind one would
 " hope, that such men, in all countries
 " where they can act, may never be want-
 " ing to continue this other list."

Although this my Preface will be formed
 chiefly by extracts from my Friend's letters,
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who can best explain his own views, and which, without the parade of Authorism, are most fairly explained in those private sentiments: Yet, I doubt whether it may not be necessary to say that, though he here appears as an abstracted Philosopher, yet he was not unpracticed in the business of Government, nor uninformed by experience in a knowledge of the nature of the European Settlements in America. His life was a compound of business and frivolity *abroad*: He was a Philosopher *at home*; and always, what may be very properly expressed, *very much at home*. He was conscious that he thought very differently from the generality of mankind on those subjects; and used while in Europe frequently to lament how little he was understood on the subject matter of this business. In a letter dated from the same place, in *March* 1779, he says, " When I look back, and compare my " opinions with events which seem to have " confirmed them, and yet see how little " effect these opinions have had, even when " called for, and when duly explained, by " facts

“ facts, in their proper place, I am at
 “ length convinced, that I have not the
 “ talent of so arranging, and of so explain-
 “ ing things, which I am sure are facts and
 “ truths, as to demonstrate them to others.
 “ That mind, whose faculties are most rea-
 “ dily exerted in the search of truth, is
 “ seldom habile and efficient in the demon-
 “ stration of it. This, therefore, will be the
 “ last Paper which I shall ever write on this
 “ side the world, on this subject. So little,
 “ (if I am not too vain in a reference to my
 “ own ideas) was this subject compre-
 “ hended, so little did it seem interesting,
 “ so little was it relished, when I was in
 “ Europe, that I scarce ever talked of it in
 “ real earnest: And, although this with-
 “ drawn place may seem best suited for
 “ contemplation; yet I feel here the want
 “ of that correspondence and conversation,
 “ which elicits, and brings forward into
 “ effect, the power of reasoning, better
 “ than the closest and most intense study
 “ ever did. *Nec quenuquam habeo quocum fa-*
 “ *miliariter de hujus modi rebus colloqui pos-*
 “ *sim;*

“ *sim; ut ne saltem explicem & exaniam.*
 “ And I own I have my apprehensions that
 “ I may prove to be as *visionary*, as the
 “ world, I know, *will think me.*” Whether the world will be of opinion with my Friend’s apprehensions or not, that this Memorial is visionary; you receive it, Mr. Almon, just as I received it. It appears to me to be founded in fact; to be plain and intelligible, is what I understand; and what therefore, I think, any other may very well understand. I hope, that, little as this Memorial is in its bulk, indeed not enough to make a book; it will neither be sold or read as a pamphlet *laxa ceruice*. There is nothing in it to amuse such readers. If the matter which it contains, does not attract and engage the serious attention of serious men of business, it is neither worth your printing, nor their purchasing.

I differ from my Friend, and think it best that it should appear first in its own dress and language; I therefore send it to you, to print off an edition of it. I shall have
 it

it translated afterward into a language that the generality of the world understands, because I think, that the matter which it contains, is of great importance to the States of Europe in general, as well as to England and America in a more particular manner.

I am,

Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

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Editor.

Paris, Jan. 25, 1780.

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MEMORIAL, &c.

THAT NASCENT CRISIS,* which at the end of the last war "opened a new channel of business, and brought into operation a new concatenation of powers, both political and commercial," is now, at the beginning of this present war, come forward into birth, in perfect and established system. "*The spirit of commerce hath become a leading and predominant power,*" it hath formed throughout North-America, and hath extended to Europe the basis of a new commercial system. "THE RISE AND FORMING OF THAT SYSTEM WAS WHAT PRECISELY CONSTITUTED THE CRISIS OF THAT TIME." It was seen by men who knew
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* This quaint expression, and the following passages, are taken from Governor Pownall's book on the British Colonies, first published in the year 1764.

how to profit of the knowledge; those who should have profitted would not see that " THAT ONE GENERAL COMPOSITE INTEREST" so formed, and so acting under the same laws, and by the same spirit of *attraction* which pervades all nature, must necessarily, in the proceßion of its power, have " A ONE COMMON CENTER OF GRAVITY AND UNION." There was, at that time, a State in Europe within whose dominions *that center* lay, coinciding nearly with the center of its own proper *political* system, and making even a part of its *natural* system. The operations of this composite system took a course almost in the very direction of the line of the natural movements of that State. The basis of a *great marine dominion* was laid by Nature, and the God of Nature offered that dominion to the only Power with which the spirit of liberty then dwelt. But the Government of that State, being wise in its own conceit, not only above, but against those things which existed, rejected Nature and would none of her ways; despised the wisdom of that Providence.

Providence which had established her. The spirit of attraction which Nature actuates was held to be a vision; and THAT STATE OF UNION, which the hand of God held forth, was blasphemed as folly. The Ministers of that country said to Repulsion, Thou shalt guide *our spirit*; to Distraction, Thou shalt be our wisdom. This spirit of Repulsion, this wisdom of Distraction, hath wrought the natural effect, dissolution. They have not only lost for ever the dominion which they might have wrought their nation up to, but the external parts of the Empire are one after another falling off, and it will be once more reduced to its insular existence.

On the other hand, *this new system* of power, united in and moving round its own proper center " *had dissolved the effect of all artificial repulsions* which force would create, and hath *formed those natural connections* by and under which its actual interest exists." Founded in Nature it is growing, by accelerated motions, and accumulated accretion of parts, into an independent, organized being, a great and powerful

powerful empire. *It has taken its equal station with the nations upon earth.*

Video solem orientem in occidente.

North-America is become a new *primary planet*, in the system of the world, which while it takes its own course, in its own orbit, must have effect on the orbit of every other planet, and shift the common center of gravity of the whole system of the European world.

North-America is *de facto* AN INDEPENDENT POWER *which has taken its equal station with other powers*, and must be so *de jure*. The politicians of the Governments of Europe may reason or negotiate upon this idea, as a matter *sub lite*. The powers of those Governments may fight about it as a new Power coming into establishment; such negotiations, and such wars, are of no consequence either to the right or the fact. It would be just as wise, and just as effectual, if they were to go to war to decide, or set on foot negotiations to settle, to whom for the future the sovereignty of the moon should belong. The moon hath been long common to them all, and they may

may all in their turns profit of her reflected light. The independence of America is fixed as fate; she is mistress of her own fortune;---knows that she is so, and will actuate that power which she feels she hath, so as to establish her own system, and to change the system of Europe.

I will not lose time, in an useless waste of words, by attempting to prove the existence of this fact. The rapid progress of events at this crisis will not wait for such trifling. The only thing which can be useful to the world is, to examine what the precise change of system is; what will be the general consequence of such change; and with what spirit, and by what conduct the advancing state of things should be met.

If the Powers of Europe will view the state of things *as they do really exist*, and will treat them *as being what they are*, the lives of thousands may be spared; the happiness of millions may be secured; and, the peace of the whole world preserved. If they will not, they will be plunged into a sea of troubles, a sea of blood, fathomless

less and boundless. The war that has begun to rage betwixt Britain, France, and Spain, which is almost gorged betwixt Britain and America, will extend itself to all the maritime, and most likely, afterwards, to all the inland powers of Europe: and like the *thirty years war* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, will not end, but as that did, by a new and general resettlement of powers and interests, according to the new spirit of the new system which hath taken place. Why may not all this be done by a Congress of all the Powers before, as well as after war? If the Powers of the present world fought for dominion by extirpation, then war is the proper engine: but if they war in order to treat for settlements of power, as has been long the system of Europe, then is war a wanton, clumsy, useless cruelty. The final issue of the contest in the final settlement of power at a peace, is seldom (I think never) in proportion to the success of arms. It depends upon the interposition of parties, who have not, perhaps, meddled with the war, but who come to the treaty for

for peace. This interposition, brought forward by intrigue, most commonly with the aid of jealousy, doth counteract by negotiation the envied effects of arms. If those who govern in Europe will look back to former wars, and will consider the views with which such were undertaken, will observe the progress which they made, and the issue in which they terminated. If they will examine the various systems planned for the enlargement of dominion, and the various struggles under those plans, which have agitated their corner of the world, and will weigh the effect of these with the various forms of opposition which hath been made to, and hath arrested their progress, they will find, that negotiation, and not war, determined these points.

The Britons have been *primeurs in politics*, they have forced and brought forward the present rising system into event and establishment before its natural season. They might, with that address which principles of truth and benevolence, deriving through common sense, direct, have secured the attachment, and retained the *filial obedience*

obedience of their plantations for years to come (as the Spaniards with their caution will do;) but it was unfortunately for them, a principal part of the miserable, baseless plan of their inexperienced advisers, *the confidential counsellors* (in a general proposed reform of their King's government) to reform the constitutions of their American establishments. Although they could not be ignorant, although they were not uninformed, that the course of this reform must lead to war, yet having settled in their own minds an over-weening idea of the force of arms, they thought it *no bad move*, if they should (like giving check-mate at chess) force the Americans to have recourse to arms. Conquest, of which they made themselves sure, and settlements in consequence of such conquest, in which they would not suspect any other Power could interfere, would give them the proper right and proper power of altering the establishments, and of giving them just what constitutions they thought fit; such as that given to Quebec, in the example of a conquered province held by arms. But, alas! when

when they were so ready for war, they little thought, or could be made to understand, what sort of a war it would turn out; and much less would they believe how many other circumstances of persons and things, besides the operation of their arms, would interpose, and become part of the business, before it came to the issue of a settlement.

In like manner, none of the Powers of Europe, and, I believe, very few of the most knowing politicians have considered in a general view, the effect of the present combination of events, or what effect it is likely to have, on the general system of European politics: and yet there is one thing palpably certain; that, on whatever ground the present war between Britain and the House of Bourbon may set out, or in whatever line it takes its course; that, however long, to their mutual ruin, they may continue the contest, by which they hope to decide, to which of them *as allies, fœdere inequali*, the Americans shall belong, the Americans will belong to neither. The Powers of Europe, who will become parties, before these affairs come

to the issue of peace, will concur in no other final settlement, than that these States are an independent sovereign Power, holding a free commerce equally with all.

In order then to shew, how these matters which are like to agitate all the States of Europe, and, if they go to war on this subject, to become the scourge of the present age, how those matters may be settled, without going to war, *and will be finally settled*, whatever are the ruinous, cruel, and destructive operations, and efforts of arms. I, a man long withdrawn from business, and now, at this time, from the world, will endeavour to lay before those whom it may concern, a view of the European and American worlds, comparing their respective systems in the forms under which they exist, and operate to power; and from thence to point out what will be the natural effects of the separation of them, and of the independence of America actuating her system, as it may affect the commercial and political state of Europe; and finally to demonstrate how, if the present crisis be wisely managed, and with a spirit of good-will

will to Men, it may be wrought into the greatest blessing of peace, liberty, and happiness, which the world hath ever yet experienced in the course of its existence.

In the situation in which I find myself detached from all connections in the interests or politics either of Europe or America; and, as to my locality, in a * meridian between the two worlds, I can look to either as I turn to the east or west: freed from those old habits of thinking, or rather of prejudging, which an European is mechanically fettered with, I can, with the same philosophic indifference, with which an astronomer examines the comparative matter and magnitude of two distant planets, compare these two distant worlds in their magnitude, spirit, and power.

When I speak of greatness in the one or other, I mean (as Mr. Bacon, the Lord Verulam expresses it) the *amplitude and growth of States*. This subject, the comparing the greatness of two continents, which never came into comparison before,

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* At the Azores.



is not more novel in the matter, than I shall be thought to be visionary in the manner and argument; I must therefore march here with formal and measured steps.

Before I enter into this comparison of the amplitude and growth of the states of the old and new world, I shall here premise, what the same noble author suggests, and which, in the course of reasoning, will be explained. "That in the measuring and balancing of greatness, too much is ascribed to largeness of territory on one hand; and on the other, too much to the fruitfulness of soil, or abundance of commodities."

Under this caution premised, I shall state first the *natural greatness* of the new world compared with that of the old.

Greatness without connection of parts is expanse not greatness: natural connection of parts without an actuating intercommunion of those parts, is encumbered bulk, not strength. That greatness of dominions which hath a natural *capability* of systematic connection, by an actuating intercommunion which arises also from nature, can
alone

alone be considered as that *natural greatness* which administers to *amplitude and growth* of states.

Although the three geographical separate parts of the world seem *naturally* to centre by the Mediterranean sea into a connected communion; and although when and while they were actuated by * an effort of wisdom, as extensive in the branches, as in the communion, at the root, they were combined into a one dominion; yet that being an effort beyond the common holding strength, beyond the ordinary resources of human nature, the scale proved in the end too large for either the spirit or the arm of Man to extend to. It could not but prove to be, in the event, what it was in the moment of its exertion, a predominancy of artificial power against nature, and therefore temporary. The three parts of the old world, Europe, Asia, and Africa, seem to have a natural division in the natural scite and circumstances of their territory. They are also inhabited and possessed by three different and distinct species

* The policy of the Roman state,

species the of human being. They have, therefore, generally by the effect of principles of nature operating against the vigour of man, fallen, in dominion, into their natural division. North America and South America are, in like manner, at the *fond*, naturally divided into two distinct systems, and will, as naturally, divide into two distinct dominions. On the contrary, large as the scale of North or South America is, neither of these respectively, either in the natural scite and circumstances of territory, nor in the people who possess and cultivate them, are so divided. North America (I speak of the predominating inhabitancy) is possessed by the English nation. South America, by the Spanish and Portuguese, which, in this argument, may be called one nation. These natural circumstances in country and people, form each of these divisions of the new world respectively, into a one great communion, the basis of a great and powerful dominion; stretching out its arms and branches over the whole land, as the fibres of the roots interweave into, and through, the various combinations of

of natural objects, whence they draw their spirit of life.

There is no where in the European-part of the old world such a greatness of interwoven and combined interest, communicating through such largeness of territory, as that in North America, possessed and actuated by the English nation. The northern and southern parts of Europe, are possessed by different nations, actuated by different spirits, and conducted under very different systems. Instead of actuating an intercommunication by an attractive, their intercourse is at perpetual variance under a repellant principle ; their communion also is obstructed by the difficulties of intercourse both over land, and through the seas, they are moreover cut off, as it were in the middle, by other intervening nations, whose principles and system are alike repellant and obstructive of free communion.

On the contrary, when the site and circumstances of the large extended territories of North America are examined ; one finds every thing united in it which forms greatness

ness of dominions, *amplitude and growth of state.*

The nature of the coast and of the winds upon that coast, is such as renders marine navigation, from one end of its extent to the other, a perpetually moving intercourse of communion: and the nature of the rivers which open (where marine navigation ends) an inland navigation which, with short interruptions, carries on a circulation throughout the whole, renders such inland navigation but a further process of that communion; all which becomes, as it were, a one vital principle of life, extended through a one organized being.

While the country, by the *capability* of this natural communion, becomes thus united at its root; its largeness of territory, expanded through such a variety of climates, produces, upon this communion, every thing that nature requires, that luxury loves to abound in; or that power can use, as an instrument of its activity. All those things which the different nations in Europe (under every difficulty that a defect of natural communion, under every obstruction

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struction that an artificial and perverted system threw in their way) barter for in the Old World, are here in the New World possessed, under an uninterrupted natural communion, by an unobstructed navigation, under an universal freedom of commerce, by one nation. The naval stores, the timber, the hemp, the fisheries, the salted provisions of the North; the tobacco, rice, cotton, silk, indigo, finer fruits, and perhaps, in no very distant period, the wines, the resin and tar of the South, form the reciprocation of wants and supplies of each respectively. The bread corn, the flour, the produce of agriculture in every form of farming, and the several encreasing articles of manufactures, which the middle colonies produce, not only fill up the communion, but compleat its system. They unite those parts which were before connected, and organize (as I have said) the several parts into a one whole.

Whether the islands, in those parts called the West Indies, are naturally parts of this North American Communion, is a question, in the detail of it, of curious speculation,

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but of no doubt as to the fact. The European maritime powers, however, if they can adjust their respective interests in those parts ; if they will form a balance of power there on those interests ; if they can settle any system of reciprocal support of that balance ; may certainly, by efforts of force, for some years, perhaps for an age longer, preserve the property and dominion of these islands. But if their quarrels amongst each other respecting North America, or the European shifting of the balance, make them obstinately deaf to their mutual interests in these parts, “ The
 “ whole of the Spanish, Dutch, Danish,
 “ French, and British establishments, indis-
 “ solubly bound in an union and commu-
 “ nion of a one general composite interest
 “ with North America, and forming the na-
 “ tural connections under which their mu-
 “ tual interests subsist, must in the course
 “ of events become parts as of the *communion*,
 “ so of the great North American *dominion*,
 “ established on the basis of that union.”
 Although no external symptoms of revolution in South America do at present make it any part of the subject which I offer to
 consideration,

consideration, yet it may not be amiss to inquire into those internal circumstances of its natural and political system, by which its Communion has amplified, and works to independency and the growth of state.

The continent of South America has still more amplitude of basis, in more variety of climates, than North America, and is much farther advanced to a natural independence of Europe, *as to its state of supply*, than the powers of Europe do see, or at least own; or than its own inhabitants, speaking of them generally, are themselves conscious of. This continent, not only from the great extent of latitudes under which it lies, but from the great variety of climates that it experiences under the same latitudes; from the abundance and variety of articles of supply which these different climates produce; from the regular, uniform, and active marine communion, by which a compleat reciprocation of mutual supplies is circulated from North to South, is also formed into one system of communion, the germ of a great independent dominion; that has taken

root, is every day striking deeper, and more expanded fibres; and is every day, by the vigour of natural vegetation (if I may so express myself) putting forth its extended branches, and is growing *occulto velut arbor ævo*, into the greatest amplitude of communion, and of dominion founded thereon, which this earth hath ever yet seen, China perhaps alone excepted. Agriculture in the elevated parts of this country, nearly the same as other the perfectly cultivated parts of the world actuate, has taken place, and is in progressive motion to the most varied and extensive operations. These parts afford not only abundance for home consumption, *but a surplus for exportation*. The articles of this export are wheat, flour, barley, wine, hemp, tallow, lard, sugar, cocoa, fruits, sweatmeats, pickles, naptha, oil, cotton, &c. This progress of agriculture hath, in the true course of nature, called forth, even from the hands of Indians, manufactures and trade, the roots which supply a most extensive circulation of commerce: Cordage, sailcloth of cotton, woollen and linen cloth, hats, leather, and particularly sole-leather,

leather, fancee, instruments of husbandry, tools of mechanics, and, in short, every thing which the advancing cultivation of man's being calls for, from these articles.

As the markets, population, and culture of the several provinces of the kingdom of Chili (advancing with accelerated, tho' not great, velocity) shall mutually encrease each other. The produce of these higher latitudes and cooler climates will enter into the great system of intercommunion of supplies, and will compleat the western side of South America, possessed by one nation, into an object of as much greater magnitude, in activity, wealth, and power, than the English nation possesses in North America, as it is greater in the variety and extent of its internal communion. Besides which it will have an uninterrupted intercourse of East Indian commerce.

If any accident should happen to abate, or give a turn to, the caprices, luxury, and vanity of a rich people, who have nothing to do but to spend their money, there is not any one article which I can recollect, necessary to the most advanced state of life, which they

they have not, or may not have, within themselves. Look back and see if this state of the country is not so far forth *naturally* independent of Europe, as to all supply and support of its existence; I will here add, much more so than North America is. The communion in North America has not as yet gone into an *active state* of manufactures, nor will it for many years to come. And yet, on the other hand, although North America is not so independent of Europe in the matter of its supply and commerce, as South America is, yet being more so in the spirit of its people, in the œconomy and advance of its political community, it has, with the forcing aid of the government of its metropolis, become the first fruit of those who slept, and has *only first* separated from the old world. South America is not yet in its natural course, ripe for falling off; nor is it likely, from the slow, official, cautious prudence of its metropolis, to be forced before its time and season to a premature revolt, as North America has been. As long as the Spanish monarch proceeds in administering the affairs and the government of
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its American establishments, with the temper, address and wisdom which it observes at present, an indolent, luxurious, superstitious people, not much, (though much more than the public in general suspects) accustomed to think of political arrangements, will continue in a certain degree of subjection to government, and in a certain degree of acquiescence to commercial restrictive regulations in their European intercourse, for the sake of a reciprocity of advantage, enjoyment, and protection, which they derive from it. Not being yet *hardened into a temper for enterprize by force of war*, they will continue to pay their taxes *as a peace-offering*. But the natives encreasing in numbers, beyond any proportion of the number of Old Spaniards, which the metropolis can send either as civil governors and magistrates, or as soldiers; having the executive power of all the inferior magistracies in their own hands, by their own election of the magistrates; and having invariably, where their choice operates, a decided rule to choose those of their own body; they have, so far as that goes, all the power
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of internal government in their own hands, in which the majesty of the sovereign power never interferes; and whatever sovereignty the Spanish monarch holds by the offices of his viceroys, of his judges, of his audiencias, his clergy, or his army, however majestic they may look, or however it may appear to individuals, and, in particular exertions, carry terror: it is a mere tenure at good-will. A great country like this, where the community has so far advanced in agriculture, manufactures, arts, and commerce, wherein there is such amplitude and growth of state, is every day growing too large for any government in Europe to manage by authority, at the distance of four or five thousand miles. And as to the idea of power by force, I will use Mr. Bacon, the Lord Verulam's explanation of it; "There be, (saith he) two manners of securing of large territories; the one by the natural arms of every province; and the other by the protecting arms of the principal estates; in which latter case, commonly the provincials are held disarmed. So are there two dangers incident unto every estate, foreign invasion,

" sion, and inward rebellion. Now, such
 " is the nature of things, that these two re-
 " medies of state do fall respectively into
 " these two dangers, *in case of remote pro-*
 " *vinces*: For if such a state rest upon the
 " natural arms of the provinces, it is sure to
 " be subject to rebellion or revolt; if upon
 " protecting arms, it is sure to be weak
 " against invasion." And I will venture to
 add, weak and *inferior to the internal power*
 of the province, which must of course pre-
 dominate. The Spanish government knows,
 that they, as well as the English, found
 themselves under the necessity of repealing
 an arrangement of revenue which they had
 made; because they felt that they *could not*
carry it into execution by authority, and they
 so rightly understood their strength, as to
 know that it was *not safe to urge it by force*.
 It is also very well known, that the disputes
 between the Spanish and Portuguese courts,
 about the boundaries of the Brazils and the
 Spanish provinces, arose from their not being
 able jointly to carry into effect a pacification
 on the case, because there are Powers in
 those countries, who would not be bound
 by the decisions of a government, whose

laws are of no authority with them, when opposed to their system: The powers I mean, are the governing authority of the missions at Paraguay. This is exactly and precisely the state of the case between the metropolitan government of Spain and its provincial establishments in South America. I could, by a detailed description of the nature of the country; of the application of the labour of the inhabitants to its capabilities; of the state of the community as it lies in nature, and as it is actuated; all compared with the constitution and administration of the government which is established there; with the spirit of the people, both Old Spaniards, Creoles, and Indians, show that South America is growing too much for Spain to manage; that it is *in power*, to be independant, at: will be so *in act*, whenever, and as soon as any occasion shall call forth that power. Whenever such revolt takes place, it will not be after the manner or in the form of that of North America. North America building on the foundation of its dominion as it lies in nature, has become a Democratic or Aristocratick Republick. The falling off of South America will be conducted,

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in *its natural* progress, by the spirit of some injured enterprising Genius, taking the lead of a sense of alienation and of a disposition of revolt, to the establishment of a great Monarchy. But all this is beside the scope of this memorial, and would become of itself a long memoir. I shall proceed therefore to consider only those operations which are in event, the *amplitude and growth of state* in North America, so far as the states and whole political system of Europe may be affected by it, or concerned in it. I have stated this *natural* greatness, as it is founded in an union of a communion. The civilizing activity of the human race, is what forms the growth of state.

To balance the *comparative progress of the growth of this state* with those of Europe, so as to obtain any just idea of a subject, even yet so little understood, it will be necessary to take a view of this *civilizing activity*, in the sources whence it derived upon the old world, in the line its progress took, and in the defective establishments to which, even in this enlightened age, it is but yet arrived: and, to compare that with the progress and extended scope of a very different civilizing

activity, operating with rapid and accelerated motion in the new world.

When the spirit of civilization began first in Europe, to emerge from that chaos of barbarism and ignorance, which the Northern invaders, like an overwhelming deluge, had spread over the face of it; the clergy sent from Rome, as missionaries amongst savages, were the blind leaders to light; and the selfish feudal Lords, the patrons of liberal emancipation. Under such auspices, what light, what liberty, what civilization! The instruction of the first, derived through a perverted channel of learning, from a corrupted source of knowledge, which being directed not to inform, but to subdue the mind, was more pernicious than the darkness of ignorance, than the aberrations of barbarism*. The kind patronage of the latter, was the benevolence of a grazier, who feeds and fattens his cattle, in order to profit the more of their fleeces, hides, and carcase. The instruc-

* Si ad fructum nostrum referemus, non ad illius commoda, quem diligimus. Prata & Arva & pecudum greges diliguntur isto modo, quod fructus ex us capiuntur. Cicero de Nat. de. Lib. 1. p. 44.

tion of those teachers was the dictates of authority imposed upon mere cataccumens, *homines de dititis*. Their learning was didactic, not as that of the new philosophy and new world is, inductive: their knowledge was a mere passive impression of maxims and principles, which, though neither explained nor reasoned upon, being reiterated, became opinions, formed into system, established in inveterate habit. The people held, did not possess, their knowledge, as they did their lands, by a *servile tenure*, which did not permit them to use or improve it as their own. They were fettered by authority, led astray by example, and under a selfish self-obstructing system, wasted every power of activity in unavailing labour: such was the *source* of civilization in Europe.

In order to view the two lines of its *progress* in Europe and in America, it may be proper to mark and draw, as far as may be done, a third line, to which both have reference in the comparison, the right line. In the natural progress of this civilizing activity, the first movement is, the application of labour to the culture of the earth, so as

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to raise by a cultivated, production of its fruits, that supply of food which is necessary to the human being in society. That labour which builds habitations, provides rayment, and makes tools and instruments, which the human hand wants the aid of, is concomitant with this. The market traffic, by which the reciprocation of wants and surpluses of various articles in various hands, may be wrought into a communion of general supply, succeeds to these. Individuals being thus assured of their supply, by an assurance of the exchange of the surplus, which each is able to create in his own peculiar line of labour, will soon improve the craft of their hand, and refine the ingenuity of their designs. Hence, by a further advanced step, arise, what are properly called, artificers and manufacturers. In this state of the progress of the community, a general surplus, not only beyond what individuals, but beyond what the wants of the community require, is created: and this general surplus, as it may be exchanged for foreign articles of comfort and enjoyment, which the locality and climate of that particular

ticular community does not produce, extends and opens a course to commercial activity, which is the next stage in this progress.

With a reference to this line, view now the civilizing activity of the new and of the old world, each in its source and progress.

By the violence of the military spirit, under which Europe was a second time peopled, the inhabitants were divided into two classes, those of warriors and slaves, and the individuals (each man under their own class) were as of different degrees to, of different denominations.

The culture of the earth was conducted by this latter class, wretches annexed to, but not owners of the soil; degraded animals that were, as the cattle of the field, property, not proprietors. They had no interest in their own persons, none in their own labour, none in the produce, either of the earth or of their labour. If they had been inspired (for they were not taught) with knowledge, they could have no one motive to make one effort of improvement. Moreover, even those who were in some degree

degree emancipated, that is, those to whom their kind Lords had lett leases of their ownelves, were so depressed by various tolls, taillages, and taxes; by being liable to military impresses; and to the civil drudgery, which took them from their own proper work, and employed them in that of these Lords and sovereigns; which wore and tore their cattle and carriages and implements of husbandry; were, I say, so depressed, that the very best spirit of them could aim at nothing in the interval but bare sustenance and rest: if yet this unsubdued spirit, working, under such burthens, with unabated perseverance or ingenuity, ever did by the remnant of their exertions raise a surplus in grain or cattle: This miserable race of men were precluded all vent and market except such, wherein their Lords were to absorb the chief profits, even of such surplus also. The consequence therefore was, that they never did *by intention* raise such surplus; accidents of extraordinary seasons, or some of the hidden secrets of vegetation, would now and then produce such a surplus; but more frequent accidents:

accidents of the same kind did occasion a deficiency and dearth. The police of these great Lords never suffered the homely wisdom of this little adage to enter into their reasoning, "*That he who would have a competency, should provide enough and a little more.*"

The progress therefore of improvement in agriculture was arrested, and became for many hundred years stationary. Although in some countries of Europe it may seem at present to be progressive; yet is the progression so little and so low that it can give no momentum, for ages to come, to amplitude and growth of state, England perhaps excepted. But the farmer in England also is, equally as absurdly as cruelly, oppressed and kept down.

The work of man employed on wood, iron, stone, or leather, were held as parts of the base and servile offices of society; and fit only for the bondsmen and slaves, to whom such were committed. These artificers or handicraftsmen therefore were mere machines in the hands of the most arrogant as well as the most ignorant of masters.

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They could not venture to make experiments, or alter the adopted and accustomed mode of work : they would have no merit, nor receive either reward or private profit from their success, and they risked every thing in the failure ; so these branches of mechanicks and art went on for ages in the old beaten track of the same unimproved clumsiness.

When upon the breaking up of the Hanseatic League and other shiftings of commerce, the Sovereigns, who had long with envy seen, but never understood, the profit and power which arose from manufactures brought forward into trade, began to encourage their own subjects, and to invite foreign ones to establish manufactures within their respective states ; and, with what they thought profound policy, to conduct the commerce of such ; civilization then took in this line of improvement a momentary start of progression. But the wretched condition under which this profound and jealous policy held the persons of these manufactures, the many depressing, obstructing, impracticable regulations, by which it restrained
their

their labour, soon gave a retrograde motion to these efforts. The same policy, however affecting to give encouragement to these manufactures, which it had forced into operation before and faster than the country was ripe for them, not out of its own purse, but from the sweat and sustenance of the landworker, gave the manufacturers a false help, by setting various assizes on the produce of the land, and by various market regulations, which still further oppressed agriculture. But all this was false and hollow, for, added to all the depressions of mind and obstructions of body which these poor manufacturers suffered, there was yet an adventitious heart-breaking cruelty, to which even merit was peculiarly exposed. If ever ingenuity of mind, or an excelling habit in the hand of any of these artificers or manufacturers, invented something new or operated to some improvement in the old line of work ; The same jealous tyrannous police, instead of rewarding them, or suffering them to seek their own reward, considered them, not as meritorious authors of good and benefit to the community, but as

profitable instruments to feed their private avarice; and instantly guarded them as state prisoners. The poor ingenious Artist found himself reduced to a state worse than slavery, for the ingratitude of such governments embittered even oppression. The consequence was, that all further improvements, here also, were arrested in their course. As though all this was not yet sufficient to keep down all spirit in the arts, and all progress of improvement, this system of police made regulations to be observed and taxes to be paid on every movement of the manufactures after they were made; on their coming from under the hand of the workman; on the carriage; on the exposing to sale; on the sale; and on the return, whether in goods or money. This police, instead of suffering the surplus profit to circulate freely through the community, where it would become a growing source of accretion and fructuation to that community, was intirely directed to absorb the whole, beyond the labourer's hard sustenance, into the treasury of the state. The idea which they entertained of the utmost perfection of the commercial

mercantile system, was, that the subject should sell but not buy; that the merchants might export the articles of their work, but must import money: and that the state must have the greatest share of it. The whole scope and effort of all their commercial legislation, was pointed to arrive as near as possible to this imagined perfection. Under these ideas, and under the authority of maxims, grown inveterate, they took up the idea of commercial police, and adding the mystery of politicks to the mystery of trade, began to legislate for commerce. Hence arose the attempts to set up exclusive property in certain materials of manufacture and trade, which they called staple commodities: hence incommunicative monopolies in every shape that the industry of ignorance could invent to mock the industry of its country with: hence exclusive privileges of trade to certain persons in certain articles and in certain places: hence exclusive privileges: hence all that nonsense, both in theory and practice, in which commercial politicians have taken so much pains to deceive themselves, about a chimera, called the

the balance of trade ; hence all the cunning follies, which rendered their markets almost impracticable to each other ; and hence, to double and redouble the mischief, the whole train of retaliations. Hence restraints on exportation, prohibitions against importation, alien duties, high imposts, and a thousand other embarrassing follies, of which there is no end or use. Having thus, in their struggles for profit, deranged all the order of prices ; having set out with a false balance of reckoning ; having by reciprocal retaliation, rendered the free course and fair competition of commerce, well nigh impracticable amongst themselves, they were forced to look out for settlements amidst some yet uncivilized or uncommercial people, where they might exercise this unequal spirit of exorbitant gain : hence also treaties of commerce, on unequal conditions of traffic, with those of their neighbours, whom they could keep down depressed by ascendant power : and hence, finally, the grand and favourite measure of establishing colonies in distant uncultivated regions, which, as out-farms of peculiar production, might be worked
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for the sole exclusive benefit of the metropolis : hence also that wildest of all the wild visions, of avarice, inspiring ambition, the attempt to render the common ocean an object of enclosed, defined, exclusive property, and to claim a possession in, and dominion over it. Thus, through want of reference to the light of nature, from not seeing and treating things as what they were ; from a total inversion of the natural order of progress in the human community ; the culture of the natural powers of the land ; the improvement of the natural powers of man, to the end of advancing the community ; the order and establishments, or rather the liberty, whereby a civilizing activity might operate to the amplitude and growth of states, were all depressed or arrested in their progress. The very spirit of improvement was buried under oppression, and all the light of genius extinguished. Those who presumed to reason, being such as were at the head of the received knowledge, such as had the lead of the received opinions, and conducted the policy of the established systems, considered the subject as a matter fully explored, and

as founded in the surest and most decided wisdom. Their ascendant authority, whether they spoke as politicians, or philosophers believing what they taught, did equally lay a dead hand on all examination, did extinguish all attempts of alteration to improvement. Moulded by habits, almost mechanical, to think and act in the line of these established systems, efforts of reasoning did but the more entangle them, in delusive means taken, and ineffectual ends proposed. They did but strive against themselves, to save the credit of ignorance, and to satisfy themselves in the poverty of their knowledge. Instead of following nature to those truths on which profitable labour, progressive civilization, population, opulence, strength, and the real interest of their country might be established, their best wit was employed only to vary old irreversible maxims, and to give new forms to old established systems, or at best by new regulations, to relieve the interests of the subject, who could no longer go on, or endure, under the old ones. But as the credit and authority of the system is yet to be kept up, the ingenuity and wit of those

those, who pay their court to Power, is still employed in finding out new and striking reasons for old maxims, or inventing fictions and cases for reconciling old establishments, to new modes of acting in them, which fact, truth, and irresistible necessity, have introduced in practice. If any genius ever dare to break this spiritual subordination, and to pursue, either in speculation or practice, any new course to truth or action; all those who lead the opinions of this settled world, must either affect to condemn him as a silly visionary foolish, inexperienced adventurer, or crush him as a presumptuous, turbulent, dangerous disturber of the State.

This is the state of the spirit of civilizing activity, as it hath long dragged on a feverish being in Europe, in the old world. Some time or other (and perhaps soon) events may arise, which shall induce the Governors and leaders of that corner of the world to revise, to consider, and perhaps to reform the hard conditions of its imprisonment, and to give it liberty, free as its

native essence. In the mean while we will turn our eyes westward,

In this new world we see all the inhabitants not only free, but allowing an universal naturalization to all who wish to be so; and an uncontroled liberty of using any mode of life they choose, or any means of getting a livelihood that their talents lead them to. Free of all restraints, which take the property of themselves out of their own hands, their souls are their own, and their reason; they are their own masters, and they act; their labour is employed on their own property, and what they produce is their own. In a country like this, where every man has the full and free exertion of his powers, where every man may acquire any share of the good things thereof, or of interest and power which his spirit can work him up to; there, an unabated application of the powers of individuals, and a perpetual struggle of their spirits, sharpens their wits, and gives constant training to the mind. The acquirement of information in things and business, which becomes necessary

cessary to this mode of life, gives the mind, thus sharpened, and thus exercised, a turn of inquiry and investigation which forms a *character peculiar to these people*, which is not to be met with, nor ever did exist in any other to the same degree, unless in some of the ancient republics, where the people were under the same predicament. This turn of character, which, in the ordinary occurrences of life, is called *inquisitiveness*, and which, when exerted about trifles, goes even to a degree of ridicule in many instances; is yet, in matters of business and commerce, a most useful and efficient talent. Whoever knows these people, and has viewed them in this light, will consider them as *animated in this new world* (if I may so express myself) *with the spirit of the new philosophy*. Their system of life is a course of experiments; and, standing on that high ground of improvement, up to which the most enlightened parts of Europe have advanced, like eaglets they commence the first efforts of their pinions from a towering advantage.

Nothing in the old world is less regarded than a poor man's wisdom ; and yet a rich man's wisdom is generally nought but the impression of what others teach him : On the other hand, the poor man's wisdom is not learning, but knowledge of his own acquiring and picking up, and founded upon fact and nature by simple experience. In America, the wisdom and not the man is attended to ; and *America is peculiarly a poor man's country*. Every thing in this wilderness of woods being totally different from an old world, almost worn out ; and every person here far removed from the habits, example, and perversion, or obstruction, of those who assume the power of directing them : the settler's reason, not from what they they hear, but from what they see and feel. They move not but as Nature calls forth their activity, nor fix a step but where use marks the ground, and take the direction of their courses by that line only, where Truth and Nature lead hand in hand. They find themselves at liberty to follow what mode they like ; they feel that they can venture

to try experiments, and that the advantages of their discoveries are their own. They, therefore, try what the soil claims, what the climate permits, and what both will produce and sustain to the greatest advantage. Advancing in this line of labour *by such a spirit of induction*, they have brought forward into culture an abundant produce, more than any other nation of the old world ever did or could. They raise not only abundance and luxurious plenty to their internal supply, but the islands of the West Indies have derived great part of their supply from the superabundance; even Europe itself hath, in many articles of its supply, profitted of the produce of this new world. It has had its fish from their seas; its wheat and flour from one part; its rice from another; its tobacco and indigo from another; its timber and naval stores from another: olives, oranges, wines, and various other articles of the more luxurious produce, having by experience been found to thrive, *are in experimental culture.*

If you view this civilizing spirit in its first simple movements, you will see it as
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in its first infancy, so attaching itself to the bosom of the common mother Earth, as the infant hangs upon the breast of its natural mother. The inhabitants, where nothing particular diverts their course, *are all landworkers*. Here one sees them labouring after the plough, or with the spade and bough, as though they had not an idea beyond the ground they dwell upon; yet is their mind, all the while, enlarging all its powers, and their spirit rises as their improvements advance. * He, who has observed this progress of this new-world, will know that this is true, and will have seen many a real philosopher, a politician, or a warrior, emerge out of this wilderness, as the seed rises out of the ground, where it hath lain buried for its season.

As in its agriculture, so in those mechanick handicrafts, which are necessary to, and concomitant with that, the new world hath been led to many improvements of implements, tools, and machines: a deficiency of many of these, an inaptitude
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* I hope no one will so misunderstand this, as to take it for a fancy-drawing of what may be; it is a lineal and exact portrait of what actually exists.

Editor.

in many of those, which they are able to get, has put these settlers, many times to their shifts; and these shifts are experiments. The particular use which calls for some succedaneum, or for some further alteration, leading experience by the hand to improvement, hath opened many a new invention. While this spirit of thus analysing the mechanic powers, with the sole and simple view to effect (instead of plodding on with a mere mechanical habit, of old implements, tools, and machines, generally clumsy, and oftentimes inapplicable) hath established *a kind of insaturation of science* in that branch; more new tools, implements, and machines; or rather more new forms of such have been thus invented in this new world, than were ever yet invented in the old, within the like extent of country in the like space of time. Many instances of this fact might be here specified in the higher, as well as in the common, diurnal mechanics.

This new world hath not yet turned its labour into the *active* channel of arts and manufactures; because by employing that labour

labour in its own natural way, it can produce those things which purchase such articles of arts and manufactures, cheaper than a country not yet ripe for those employments, could make them. But although it doth not manufacture *for sale*, the settlers find intervals and *fragments of time*, which they can spare from agriculture, and which they cannot otherwise employ, in which they make most of the articles of personal wear and household use, *for home consumption*. When the field of agriculture shall be filled with husbandmen, and the classes of handicrafts fully stocked; as there are here no laws that frame conditions on which a man is to become entitled to exercise this or that trade, or by which he is excluded from exercising the one or the other, in this or that place; as there are here no laws that prescribe the manner in which, and the prices at which, he is to work, or that lock him up in that trade which it has been his misfortune to have attached himself to; although while he is starving in that, he could, in some other line of business which his circumstances

stances point out, and his talents lead him to be useful to the public, and maintain himself; as there are none of those oppressing, obstructing, dead-doing laws here: the moment that the progress of civilization, carried thus on in its natural course, is ripe for it; the branch of manufactures will take its shoot, and will grow and increase with an astonishing exuberancy.

Although the civilizing activity of America does not, by artificial and false helps, contrary to the natural course of things, inconsistent with, and checking the first applications of, its natural labour, and before the community is ripe for such endeavour, attempt to force the establishment of manufactures: yet following, as Use and Experience lead, the natural progress of improvement, it is every year producing a surplus profit; which surplus, as it enters again into the circulation of productive employment, creates an accumulating accelerated progressive series of surpluses. *With these accumulated surpluses of the produce of the earth and seas, and not with manufactures,* the Americans carry on their com-

mercial exertions. Their fish, wheat, flour, rice, tobacco, indigo, live stock, barrel pork and beef (some of these articles being peculiar to the country and staple commodities) form the exports of their commerce. This has given them a direct trade to Europe; and, with some additional articles, a circuitous trade to Africa and the West Indies.

The same ingenuity of mechanic handicraft, which arises concomitant with agriculture, doth here also rise concomitant with commerce, and is exerted in SHIP-BUILDING: it is carried on, not only to serve all the purposes of their own carriage, and that of the West Indies in part, but to an extent of sale, so as to supply great part of the shipping of Britain; and further, if it continues to advance with the same progress, it will supply great part of the trade of Europe also with shipping, at cheaper rates than they can any where, or by any means, supply themselves.

Thus their commerce, although subsisting (while they were subordinate provinces) under various restrictions, by its advancing
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progress in *ship-building*, hath been striking deep root, and is now shot forth an *active commerce*, growing into *amplitude of state* and great power.

Stating the ground on which an objection is made to this description of the improving commerce of America, will open to view another extraordinary source of *amplitude and growth of state*. It will be said, that the fact of the balance of trade, being at all times, and in every channel, finally against America, so as to draw all the gold and silver it can collect from it, is but a damning circumstance of its progressive advance in commerce and opulence. In the first place, is it not a fact, that America (even while partitioned out into depressed and restrained provinces) has carried on all its advanced culture in a progress to great opulence; and has it not been constantly extending the channels of its trade, and encreasing its shipping? There is not a more fallacious and misleading maxim (although it has been adopted in practice, and even by commercial nations) than that of judging of the general balance

of profit in commerce, by the movements of that one article of it, *the precious metals*. This *metallic money*, as the traffic of the world is generally conducted, is an article as necessary to go to market for, as any other article whatsoever. In the general circulation of trade, it will always, as any other article of commerce doth, go to that country which pays the most for it. Now that country which, on any sudden or great emergency, wants money, and knows not how to circulate any other money than the metallic, must pay the most for it. Considered under this idea, the influx of this article into a country, instead of being the symptom, or consequence, of the balance of trade being in favour of that country; or the efflux being the mark of the like balance, being against it, may be a fact in proof of the contrary. The balance of trade, reckoned by the import or export of gold and silver, may, in many cases, be said to be against England, and in favour of those countries to which its money goes. If this import or export was really the effect of a final settled account, instead of being,

as is generally the case, only the carrying and deducting of this article to or from some open current account, having further reference; yet would it not be a mark of the balance of trade. England, from the nature of its government and the extensiveness of its commerce, has established a credit, on which, on any emergency, it can give circulation to paper money almost to any amount. If it could not, it must, at any rate, purchase gold and silver, and there would be a great influx of the precious metals. Will any one here say, that this state of its circumstances is a mark of the balance of trade being in its favour: but, on the contrary, having credit from a progressive balance of profit, it can, even in such an emergency, spare its gold and silver, and even make a profit of it as an article of commerce exported. Here we see the balance of profit creating a credit, which circulates as money, even while its gold and silver are exported. If any particular event, as for instance, the late one of the recoinage of the gold in England, which called in the old coin at a price better than that

that at which it was circulating abroad, should raise the price of this article in England, it will, for the same reason as it went out, be again imported into England; not coming as the balance of their accounts, but as the article of trade, of which the best profit could at that moment be made. The fact was, that at that period, quantities of English gold coin, to a great amount, were actually imported into England in bulk; and yet this was no mark of any sudden change of a balance of trade in favour of that country.

The balance of trade, reckoned by this fallacious rule, has been always said to be against North America also; but the fact is, that the government of that country, profiting of a *credit arising from the progressive improvements, and advancing commerce of it* (which all the world sees, or it would be no credit) hath, by a refined policy established a circulation of paper-money to an amount that is astonishing; that from the immense quantity it should depreciate, is nothing to this argument; for

it has had its effect. The * Americans, therefore, as well as England, can spare their gold and silver, can do without it. The efflux, therefore, of the precious metals, is no proof of its being a balance against them. On the contrary, they being able to go on without gold and silver, but wanting other articles, without which they could not go on, neither in the progression of their improvements, in the advance of their commerce, nor in the conduct of their war matters; the metallic money is in part hoarded, and in part goes out, and those articles of more use to them are imported. Does it not then turn out to be a fact, that this objection, which is always given as an † instance of weakness in America, under which she must sink, turns out, in the true state of it, an instance of the *most extensive amplitude and growth*

* My information says, that there is now locked up in America more than *Three Millions*, English money, in gold and silver species, which when their Paper is annihilated will come forth.

Editor.

† Would it not be well for England, if while she triumphs over this mote in her sister's eye, she would attend to the beam in her own, and prepare for the consequences of her own Paper Money!

Editor.

growth of state, which would not have been considered, or even seen, had the objection not been made.

I will here, therefore, from this comparison of the spirit of civilizing activity in the old and in the new world, as one sees it in its application to agriculture, handicrafts, and mechanics, and finally in an active commerce, spatiating on an amplitude of base, the natural communion of a great country, and rising in a natural progression, venture to assert, that in this point, NORTH AMERICA HAS ADVANCED, AND IS EVERY DAY ADVANCING, TO GROWTH OF STATE, WITH A STEADY AND CONTINUALLY ACCELERATING MOTION, OF WHICH THERE HAS NEVER YET BEEN ANY EXAMPLE IN EUROPE.

But farther ; when one looks to the progressive POPULATION which this fostering happiness doth, of course, produce, one cannot but see, in North America, that God's first blessing, "*Be fruitful and multiply ; replenish the earth and subdue it,*" hath operated in full manifestation of his will. In Europe, on the contrary, where a wretched, selfish, self-obstructing policy, hath

hath rendered barren, not only fruitful countries, but even the womb itself ; one may say, in melancholly truth, that the first curse, " I will greatly multiply thy sorrow in procreation ; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children," seems to have been executed in judgment. That wretched state of the country and people, which hath rendered fruitfulness a matter of sorrow, and children a burthen, hath arrested the progress of population. The apprehensions of having a family to support when the poor parents know not where or how to provide a home and sustenance ; the dread of bringing into the world (objects so dear to all parents) who are to be born in a state not much better than slavery, hath palsied the very idea of marriage, the fruits of which are to be brought forth in sorrow. * In North America children are a blessing, are riches and strength to the parents ; and happy *is every man that hath his quiver full of them.* As the nature

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* Magnum quidam est incitamentum, tolerare liberos in spem alimentorum, majus tamen in spem libertatis, in spem securitatis.

and causes of this amazing population hath been so fully discussed, and with decided demonstration, explained in "*Observations concerning the increase of mankind, the peopling of countries, &c.*" I shall refer those who think it necessary to pursue this point of the comparison further, to that little treatise ; and shall proceed here to confirm it by examples of the actual encrease stated in authentic facts.

The province of *Massachusetts Bay* had inhabitants in the year

1722-----	94,000
1742-----	164,000
* 1751-----	164,484
1761-----	216,000
1765-----	255,500
1771-----	292,000
1773-----	300,000

In the colony of CONNECTICUT the inhabitants, at the beginning of last war, and of the present, stood

1756-----	129,994
1774-----	257,356

Observe here, that the numbers, by which these

* N. B. A great depopulation, by the small-pox and war, in that period.

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these people have thus encreased, are not aided by any accretion of strangers ; but, on the contrary, they appear less than they would actually be, if all those people whom the colony lost in the course of last war, and all those who, in very great numbers, emigrated to the westward since the war, could have been added ; as it is, they have encreased nearly the double in eighteen years. As it may be a matter of curiosity, and not irrelevant to the argument, I will here insert a particular instance of fecundity in a family in Connecticut. Mary Loomis (or Loomax) born at Windsor in Connecticut - - - - - 1680
 Married John Buel of Lebanon in do. 1696
 Died at Litchfield in do. - - - 1768

Descendants living at her death :

Child.	Gr. Child.	G. Gr. Child.	Fourth Gen.
10	75	232	19
Died bef. her			
<u>3</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>3</u>
13	101	274	22
Tot. descendants { Alive at her death			336
{ Died before her			74
Tot. encrease born			<u>410</u>

The Province NEW YORK.

1756-----96,776

1771-----168,007

1774-----182,251.

The Dominions of VIRGINIA.

1756-----173,316

1764-----200,000

1774-----300,000

The Province of SOUTH CAROLINA.

1750-----64,000

1770--- * 115,000

The Colony of RHODE ISLAND.

1730-----15,302

1748-9-----28,439.

As there never was a regulated general militia in PENNSYLVANIA, which could enable those, whose business it was, to get accounts of the increase of population in that province, founded on authentic lists, it hath been variously estimated on speculation. Although there was a continued import

* This is supposed to be below the actual number, the great increase of population being, in the back countries, not then included in the regulations of the policy. Editor.

import for many years of Irish and Foreign emigrants into Philadelphia (of which I have the numbers) yet, informed as I am, that many of these passed through the province, and settled either directly, or as soon as their indented service expired. In other provinces, I think the progress of population may be reckoned here also by the ordinary course of procreation, as in other provinces and colonies; and by collating different estimates, I think I may venture to say, that its population, when I was in the country, advanced in a ratio between that of Massachusetts-bay and Virginia. The city of PHILADELPHIA, indeed, from circumstances of trade, advanced with a more rapid motion, of which fact the following is a statement in proof.

PHILADELPHIA had in the year	houses
Inhabitants on estimate {	1749 2076
from 16,000 to 18,000 {	1753 2300
31,318 to 35,000 {	1760 2969
	1769 4474

To speak of the population of the country in general; there were at the beginning of the war, 1754 and 5, various calculations and estimates

mates made of the numbers of the people on the continent. Those who were sanguine, and thought they could correct the materials from which the estimate was to be made, fancied they were justified in making the amount of the numbers of the people *one million and a half*. Those who did not admit so much speculation into the calculation, but adhered closer to the facts of the lists as they were made out, could not state the amount at more than one million two hundred and fifty thousand.

The estimate of the numbers of the people, said to have been taken by Congress in September, 1774, makes them 3,026,678; but when I see how that account, from which the estimate is made, differs, in many particular articles, from what I have ventured to state as authentic returns, I am convinced that there must have been great scope of speculation taken and allowed in that estimate. I have seen another estimate which makes the number, at a later period, after two or three years of war, 2,810,000. In what I am going to advance, I am myself rather reasoning

reasoning upon estimate than authentic fact, for I have not seen the returns of *all* the provinces; yet from what I have now seen, compared with what I have known formerly, I do verily believe, and therefore venture to say, that 2,141,307 would turn out the number nearest to the real amount in the year 1774. But what an amazing progress of population is it, which, in eighteen or nineteen years, has added near a million of people to a million two hundred and fifty thousand, although a war was maintained in that country for seven years of that period.

In this view, one sees again the amplitude of the community unfolding its progressive increase and growth of State, beyond any example that any of the Powers of Europe can bring into comparison in the account.

But more; these numbers are not a mere multitude of dwellers, *fruges consumer nati*. The frame and model of these communities, which hath, from the first establishment of them, always taken place, (Pennsylvania excepted) is such as hath enrolled

enrolled every common subject, by the poll, to be a soldier; and, by rotation of duty, has *trained*, to a certain degree, a quarter part, or about 535,326 of *these people to the actual use of arms*, so that the country has this number not separate from the civil community, and formed into a distinct body of regular soldiers, but remaining united to the internal power of the community, as it were, *the national picquet guard*, always prepared for defence. I am aware, that even these numbers, being the numbers of a mere militia, will appear contemptible to the regular Captains and Generals of Europe; yet, experience in fact hath always evinced that, for that very reason, that they are not a separate body, but members of the body of the community, they became *a real and effective national defence*, have toes that are roots, and arms which will bring forth the fruits of external protection, with internal security and peace. This establishment is an organized part of the body, and can be maintained at all times, and even in time of service, at little more expence than the

the ordinary vital circulation requires. The real greatness and strength of the State arises from and consists in this * "that every common subject, by the poll, is fit to make a soldier, and not certain conditions and degrees of men only." I cannot close this part of my reasoning better than in the sentiment in which the same great Statesman and Philosopher gives his opinion on the matter, "The true greatness of the State consisteth essentially in population of breed of men, and where there is valour in the individuals, and a military disposition in the frame of the community; where all, and not particular conditions and degrees only, make profession of arms, and bear them in their country's defence."

Great as this amplitude of the community may be at its base; far advanced as it may be in the progress of its civilizing activity; established in interest and power as it may be by an active commerce; and securely fortified as it may seem in the union of its military spirit; yet all this, without the soul of Government, would prove but

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* Ld. Verulam,

a phantom. So far as the vitality of Government can animate the organized being, and so far as the spirit of Government can actuate the will of the whole, so far, and no farther, can the amplitude and growth of the State extend.

If the dominions of an Empire be extended, while, by reason of a narrowness or weakness in the vital spring of Government, the spirit of Government cannot so extend, as to give vital union to its distant parts, or, by an union of will, to actuate the *consensus obedientium* in those remote parts, the extension of the dominions works not to amplitude and growth, but to the dissolution of State. Such Government will call those remote parts, external provinces; and because it hath not the virtue or the vigour to so extend the spirit of Government to them, as that, while they obey the will, they feel themselves vitally united to it, it will assume the tone of Force. But as the natural internal force will not act against itself, that is not the force which Government in such case can use; Government, brought into such an unhappy

unhappy case, must attempt therefore to act by external, unnatural force sent from without. But, alas ! any force that (even with violent temporary exertions) it can send to these extremities (without draining itself at heart) will bear no comparison with the natural internal force of those provinces, and can have no effect but that of alienation and dissolution. When such a case exists, the dominions of an Empire, which were not too great for a right spirit of Government, but which, actuated by that spirit, was in a continual progression to amplitude and growth of State, are soon found too great for the false and unnatural spirit of Force. Let us here view this world (by the fatality here described) now separated and fallen off from that vital union by which it was once an organized member of the English Empire : let us view it *as it now is*, AN INDEPENDENT STATE *that hath taken its equal station amidst the nations of the earth*; as an Empire, the spirit of whose government extends from the centre to its extreme parts, exactly in proportion as the will of those parts doth reciprocally unite

in that center. Here we shall find (as hath always been found) "That universal participation of council creates reciprocation of universal obedience. The seat of government will be well informed of the state and condition of the remote and extreme parts; and the remote and extreme parts, by participation in the legislature, will from self-consciousness, be informed and satisfied in the reasons and necessity of the measures of government. These parts will consider themselves as acting in every grant that is made, and in every tax which is imposed. This consideration alone will give efficacy to government, and will create that *consensus obedientium*, on which only the permanent power of the imperium of a state can be founded: this will give extension and stability of empire as far as it can extend its dominions."

This might have been, indeed, the spirit of the British Empire, America being a part of it: This is the spirit of the government of the new Empire of America, Great Britain being no part of it. It is a

Vitality, liable, indeed, to many disorders,
many

many dangerous diseases ; but it is young and strong, and will struggle, by the vigour of internal healing principles of life, against those evils, and surmount them ; like the infant Hercules, it will strangle these serpents in its cradle. Its strength will grow with its years, and it will establish its constitution, and perfect adulthood in growth of state.

To this greatness of empire it will certainly arise. That it is removed three thousand miles distant from its enemy ; that it lies on another side of the globe where it has no enemy ; that it is earth-born, and like a giant ready to run its course, are not alone the grounds and reasons on which a speculatist may pronounce this. The fostering care with which the rival Powers of Europe will nurse it, ensures its establishment beyond all doubt or danger.

Where a state is founded on such amplitude of base as the union of territory in this new world forms ; whose communion is actuated by such a spirit of civilization, where all is enterprize and experiment ;
 where

where Agriculture, led by this spirit, hath made discoveries in so many new and peculiar articles of culture, and hath carried the ordinary produce of bread-corn to a degree that has wrought it to a staple export, for the supply of the old world; whose fisheries are mines producing more solid riches, to those who work them, than all the silver of Potosi; where experimental application of the understanding, as well as labour to the several branches of the mechanics, hath invented so many new and ingenious improvements; where the Arts and Sciences, Legislation and Politics, are soaring with a strong and extended pinion, to such heights of philosophic induction; where, under this blessedness, Population has multiplied like the seeds of the harvest; where the strength of these numbers, taking a military form, "*shall lift up itself as a young lion*;" where Trade, of a most extensive orbit, circulated in its own shipping, hath wrought up this effort of the Community to an *active Commerce*; where all these powers unite and take the form of establishment of Empire; I may suppose that I cannot err, nor give offence to the greatest

greatest Power in Europe, when, upon a comparison of the state of mankind, and of the states of those Powers in Europe, with that of America, I venture to suggest to their contemplation, that America is growing too large for any government in Europe to govern as subordinate; that the Government of North America is too firmly fixed in the hands of its own community, to be either directed by other hands, or taken out of the hands in which it is; and that the power in men and arms (be they contemned or contemptible, as the wisdom of Europe may suppose) is too much to be forced at the distance of three thousand miles.

If I were to address myself to a philosopher, upon a supposed adventitious state of the planetary system, and ask him, whether, if an accretion of matter should enlarge any sattellite till it grew into magnitude, which balanced with its primary; whether that globe, so encreased, could any longer be held by any of the powers of nature in the orbit of a secondary planet; or whether any *external force* could hold it thus

thus restrained; he will answer me directly, No. If I ask the father of a family, whether, after his son is grown up to man's estate, to full strength of body equal to the parent, to full power of mind and vigour of reason; whether he can be held in the same subordinate pupillage, and will suffer himself to be treated, under correction, as aforesaid in his childhood? The father will be sorry to be asked the question, and be willing to evade it; but he must answer, No. Yet, if I ask an European politician, who learns by hearsay, and thinks by habit, and who supposes of course that things must go on, as they have always gone on; whether, if North America, grown up, by a distinct and independent interest in their œconomy and commerce, to a magnitude in nature, policy, and power, will remain dependent upon, and be governed by, any of the metropolitan states on the other side of the globe; he will confidently answer, Yes. He will have ready a thousand reasons why it must be so, although fact rises in his face to the very contrary. There have been

been, and there are, periods in the History of Man, when, instead of *the politician* being employed to find out reasons to explain facts, he and all about him shall be *busied to invent, or make, facts, that shall suit predetermined reasonings*. Truth, however, will prevail, and things will always finally prove themselves to be what they are.

What has been here said is not meant to establish proof of the *Fact, which is in event*; but so to explain it, as that the consequences of it may be fairly and clearly seen. As to the existence of the facts, or the effect of them in operation, it is of no import. THE PRESENT COMBINATION OF EVENTS, whether attended to or not, whether *wrought by wisdom* into the system of Europe or not, *will, forcing its way* by the vigour of natural causes, *be found there* in all its ascendant operations. These will have their effects, and Europe in the internal order and œconomy of its communities, in the courses of its commerce, will be affected by it. The statesman cannot prevent its existence, nor resist its operation. He may embroil

his own affairs ; but it will become his best wisdom and his duty to his sovereign and the people, that his measures coincide and co-operate with it.

The first of the consequences is, the Effect which this Empire, in a new and separate world, *become a great naval Power*, will have on the commerce, and perhaps by changes introduced in that, on the political system of the old world.

Whoever has read and understands any thing of the state of the Hanseatic League in Europe, and considers it's progress, first by it's possessing all the commanding articles of the commerce of the then world, and the commercial command of all the great rivers through which that commerce must circulate ; next it's being the carrier of the trade of Europe ; and finally it's forming, on this ascendant interest, by the means of it's shipping and seamen, *an active naval Power*, that in all cases could attract the interest of, in many cases resist, and even command the landed Powers ; whoever, viewing this, considers that this League was made up of

a number of towns, separate from, and unconnected with each other, and included within the dominions of other Powers and States, of a number of individual towns, who had *no natural communion*, and only a forced and artificial union amongst each other; whoever, duly marking this at the basis, follows the progress of the power, not only commercial but naval and political, which this League, under all these natural disadvantages, established throughout all Europe, will be at no loss to see on how much more solid basis the power of North-America stands founded, how much faster and with more rapid increase (unobstructed with those difficulties which the League met with) it must grow up, and to what an extent and ascendancy of interest, carrying on the greatest part of the commerce, and commanding the greatest part of the shipping of the world, this great commercial, naval, American Power must soon arrive at. If this League, without having the natural foundation of a political body, a landed root, could grow, by an active commerce and the effect of navigation, to

such power as we know it did possess, and acted with; if this League, of parts separated by Nature, and only joined by the artificial cement of force, could become a great political body, existing, as it were vitally, by a set of regulations of *internal* police, and acting *externally* with an interest and power that took a lead, and even an ascendancy in wars and treaties, what must the States of North-America, removed at a distance of almost half the globe, from all the obstructions of rival Powers, having at it's root a landed dominion, *peculiarly adapted to the communion of commerce and union of power*, and already grown up in an almost universal active commerce, rise up to in their progress? As this Hanseatick League grew up to power, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and even France, sought it's alliance (under the common veil of pride) by offers of becoming it's Protectors. England also, growing fast into a commercial Power, had commercial arrangements, by treaty, with it. Just so now will the Sovereigns of Europe, just so now have the great Bourbon

Bourbon Compact, the greatest Power in Europe, courted the friendship of America. Standing on such a basis, and growing up under such auspices, one may pronounce of America as was said of Rome, *Civitas, incredible est memoratu, adeptâ libertate quantum brevi creverit.*

I mark here *what may be in event*, from a view and consideration of *what has been in fact*, merely to obviate a suspicion of my reasoning being theory and vision.

In the course of this American war, all the Powers of Europe (at least the maritime Powers) will, one after another, as some of the first leading Powers have already done, apply to the States of America for a share in their trade, and for a settlement of the terms on which they may carry it on with them. America will then become the ARBITRESS of the commercial, and perhaps (as the Seven United Belgic Provinces were in the year 1647) the *Mediatrix of peace*, and of the political business of the world.

If North America follows the principles on which Nature hath established her; and

if

if the European alliances which she has already made do not involve her in, and seduce her to, a series of conduct destructive of that system, which those principles lead to; she must observe, that as Nature hath separated her from Europe, and hath established her *alone on a great continent, far removed from the old world, and all its embroiled interests and wrangling politics,* without an enemy or a rival, or the entanglement of alliances * I. That it is contrary to the nature of her existence, and of consequence to her interest, that she should have any connections of politics with Europe, other than merely commercial; and, even on that ground, to observe invariably, the caution of not being involved in either the quarrels, or the wars of the Europeans in Europe. II. That the real state of America is, that of being the common source of supply to *Europe in general*; that her true *interest* is, therefore, that of being a FREE PORT to all Europe at large; and that all Europe at large should be THE COMMON MARKET for American

* Common Sense.

merican exports. The true interest, therefore, of America is, not to form any partial connexions with any part to the exclusion of the rest."

If England had attended to her own interest, as connected with that of America, she would have known, that "it is the commerce, and not the conquest of America, by which she could be benefitted;" and if she would, even yet, with temper, listen to her true interest, she would still find, "that that commerce would, in a great measure, continue with the same benefit, were the two countries as independent of each other as France and Spain, because, in many articles, neither of them can go to a better market."

What is here said, is spoken of them, as influenced under their present habits and customs of life:---Alienation may change all this.

Be these lesser private interests disposed of, as the fate of kingdoms determines: The views of this memoir are directed only to the general consequences of the general combination of events.

The

The first, which in all human probability will, sooner or later, become the great leading principle between the old and new world, is, that North America will become a **FREE PORT** to all the nations of the world indiscriminately; and will expect, insist on, and demand, in fair reciprocity, a **FREE MARKET** in all those nations with whom she trades. This will, (if she forgets not, nor forsakes her real nature) be the basis of all her commercial treaties.

If she adheres to this principle, she must be, in the course of time, the chief carrier of the commerce of the whole world; because, unless the several powers of Europe become to each other, likewise, **FREE PORTS** and **FREE MARKETS**, America alone will come to and act there, with an ascendant interest that must command every advantage to be derived from them.

The commerce of North America being no longer the property of one country only, where the articles of its supply were either locked up, or came thence to market through a monopoly; these articles will
come

come freely, and be found now, in the markets of Europe at large; not only moderated by, but moderating the prices of the like articles of Europe. The furs and peltry will meet those of the north-eastern parts of Europe; and neither the one nor the other can any longer be estimated by the advantages to be taken of an exclusive vent. Advantages of this kind, on the article of *iron*, and on *naval stores*, have frequently been aimed at by Sweden; and the monopoly in them was more than once used as an instrument of hostility against England. This occasioned the measure which the Parliament of that country took of granting bounties on these articles, the growth and produce of America, which measure gave source to the export of the same articles from North America: these, when they come freely to the European markets, co-operating with the effect which those of Russia have there, will break that monopoly: for Russia also, by the conquest of Livonia, and the advancement of her civilization, has become a source of supply in these same articles to a great extent. All

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Europe,



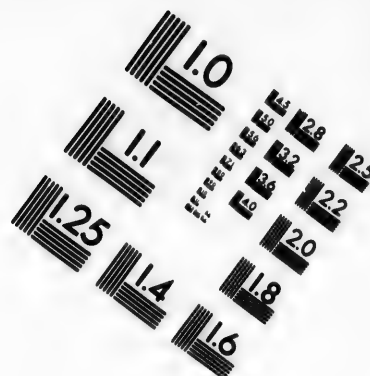
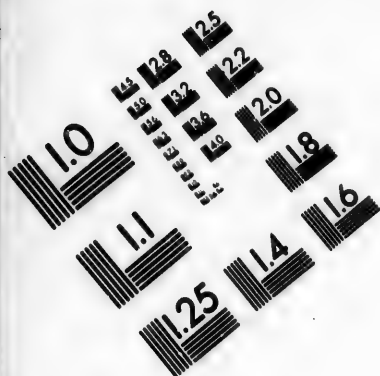
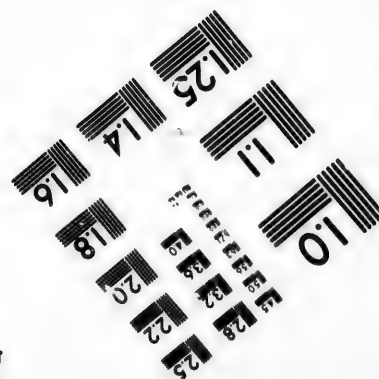
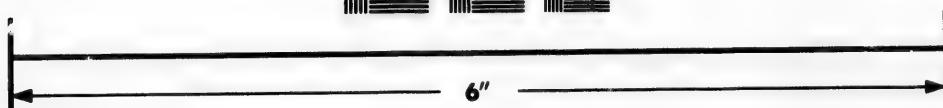
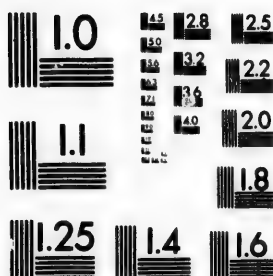


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Europe, by the *intervention of this American commerce* in her markets, will find the good effects of a *fair competition, both in abundance of supply, and in moderation of price.* Nay, even England, who hath lost the monopoly, will be no great loser on this score: she will find this natural competition as advantageous to her, as the monopoly which, in bounties, and other costs of protection, she paid so dear for.

Ship-building, and the science, as well as art of navigation, having made such progress in America, so that they are able to build and to navigate cheaper than any country in Europe, even cheaper than Holland with all her œconomy can, there will arise in Europe a competition, at least in this branch of commerce. In this branch the Dutch will find powerful rivalship from that maritime people, the Americans. The Dutch will also find, in the markets of Europe, a competition in the branch of the *Fisheries.*

The *rice* and the *bread corn* which the Americans have been able to export, to an amount that supplied, in the European market,

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ket, the defect arising from England's withholding her exports, will, when that export shall again take place, keep down depressed the agriculture of Portugal and Spain, and, in some measure, of France also, if the policy of those countries does not change the regulations, and order of their internal œconomy.

The peculiar articles of supply to be had as yet from America only, and which the markets of Europe so much seek after and demand, will not only give to the Americans the command of the market in those articles, but enable them, by annexing assortments of other articles of commerce, to produce these latter articles also, with preference and advantage in those markets.

The refuse fish, the flour, the maize, the barrelled meat, the live-stock, and various lesser articles of subsistence, and the lumber, all carried in American shipping to the West-India Islands, directly from North America: the African slaves carried, by a circuitous trade, in American shipping also, to the West-India markets: the taking from thence the molasses; and the aiding those islands with American shipping, in the carriage also of their produce, must ever

command and have the *ascendancy* in the *commerce* of that part of the world ; if this ascendancy even stops here.

But to close the consideration of the effects which the *commercial activity* of this New Empire will have, one may sum up all in this, that the cheap manner in which the Americans can, at present, produce their articles of supply ; the low rates at which they can carry them to the European markets, selling also their shipping there ; the small profits at which their merchants are content to trade, must lower the price of the like articles in the European market ; must oblige the European merchant also to be content with less profit ; must occasion some reform of the home *œconomy* of Europe in raising, and of the order of Police in bringing to the market, the native articles of supply of that Continent. But further ; these people by their principle of being a *free port* in America, and having a *free market* in Europe ; by their policy of holding themselves, “ as they are remote from all the wrangling politics, so neutral in all the wars of Europe ;”
by

by their spirit of enterprize in all the quarters of the globe, will oblige the nations of Europe to call forth within themselves such a spirit, as must change entirely its commercial system also.

But will a people whose Empire stands singly predominant in a great Continent ; and who, before they lived under their own Government, had pushed their spirit of adventure in search of a North-West passage to Asia, which, as being their own discovery, they meant to have claimed as their own peculiar right : will such a people suffer in their borders the establishment of such a monopoly as the European Hudson's Bay Company ? Will that enterprizing spirit, which has forced a most extensive commerce in the two Bays of Honduras and Campeachy, and on the Spanish main, and who have gone to Falkland's Islands in search only of whales, be stopped at Cape Horn, or not pass the Cape of Good Hope ? It will not be long after their establishment as an Empire, before they will be found trading in the South-Sea and in China. The Dutch will hear of them in Spice Islands,

Islands, to which the Dutch can have no claim; and which those enterprizing people will contest, on the very ground, and by the very arguments which the Dutch themselves used to contest the same liberty against Portugal.

By the constant intercommunion that there will be between Europe and America; by the constant correspondence and growing acquaintance that there will be towards the latter, it will be as well known, in general, as Europe: by the continual passage to and from that Continent; by attention to the nature of the winds, which, however variable, have their general courses; by repeated observations on the currents in the Atlantic, which (beside the general current of the Gulf stream and its lee-currents) set according to the prevailing winds, in various courses between the shoaler and broken ground; the passage will be better understood, and become every day shorter; America will seem every day to approach nearer and nearer to Europe. When the alarm which the idea of going to a *strange* and a *distant* country gives to the homely notions of an European

European manufacturer or peasant, or even to those of a country gentleman, shall be thus worn out, a thousand repeated repulsive feelings, respecting their present home; a thousand attractive motives, respecting the settlement which they will look to in America, will raise a spirit of adventure, and become the irresistible cause of an almost *general Emigration to that New World*. Nothing but some future, wise, and benevolent policy in Europe, or some spirit of the evil one, which may mix in the policy of America, can prevent it.

The Great Creator hath stationed a Cherubim, with a flaming sword, that turns every way, and meets man at every avenue through which he would pass in quitting life itself. Unless the great Potentates of Europe can station some such universal, and equally efficient, power of restraint to prevent man's quitting this Old World, multitudes of their people will emigrate to the New One. Many of the most useful enterprizing Spirits, and much of the active property will go there also. Exchange hath taught the statesman of the world long ago,
that

that they cannot confine money : and the state of the Empire of these European states must fall back to an old feudal community, in which its own people are locked up, and from which all others are excluded, or *commerce will open the door to Emigration.* The Sovereigns of Europe, who are cognizant of those movements, and who know how to estimate their effects, must feel what an adventitious weight hence, also, will be added to the encreasing scale.

Such, upon a patient investigation through past experience doth the state and circumstances of things, in Europe and in America respectively, appear to the Writer of this paper : such, upon a comparative view of the two worlds, in those points which lead to amplitude and growth of state, doth the combination of events, in which they are mixed, appear. The Memorialist attempts not to reason upon the matter. He aims only, and that with all humility, to point out to the contemplation of those who must act upon it, and who should therefore reason, the natural, or, at least, probable tendency of effects flowing from

from it: and how these relations of things
 --- *Legesque et fœdera rerum*, are forming
 what he conceives will be the New System.
 He is neither so unpractised in the world,
 no so absurd, as to attempt to establish these
 practical truths by argument. He knows
 the influence that settled principles and de-
 cided maxims have on the public as well as
 private opinion, that men measure every
 degree of proof, and even demonstration
 itself, by them. The sublime politician,
 who spatiates in the regions of predeter-
 mined systems, which no experience can ever
 enlighten, will not stoop to reason. The
 man of the world, narrowed by a selfish
 experience, which is worse than ignorance,
 will neither reason nor feel. Besides, if in-
 dividuals had direct and practical conviction
 of the existence of the facts herein stated,
 and did actually feel the truth of the ef-
 fects; yet it requires something more mate-
 rially operative to move collective bodies
 of men. It is but slowly that nations re-
 linquish any system which hath derived au-
 thority from time and habit; and where
 that habit passes for experience, and that
 authority for truth.

When contrary effects, constantly and uniformly opposing themselves to the activity of error, shall make men hesitate, and raise some suspicions *that all is not right in the old system*: when Experience, observing (as it were) two ships sailing on the great ocean, shall see that while the sails of the *one*, instead of being so set as to draw together, and to give the vessel its due course, do counteract each other, and obstruct its course; that it is repeatedly taken a-back, and with all its bustle and activity makes but little way; the *other*, setting all its sails *as the nature of the elements requires*, and so as all to draw together, doth, in a one quiet unshifting trim, and in a one uniform steady course, make great way, so as to sail down the other out of sight: when Experience, having observed this, shall apply it to what he may observe in the different effects of the different systems of the Old and New World; Reason will be heard, Truth will have its force, and Nature act with all its powers. Until some great event shall produce this frame and temper of mind in the European world,

world, all reasoning will become the mere theory of a visionair; all argument the downright impertinence of an obtruding missionair.

Those Sovereigns of Europe who have been led by the office-systems and wordly wisdom of their Ministers; who seeing things in those lights, have despised the unfashioned awkward youth of America; and have neglected to form connections, or at least to interweave their interests with those of these rising states: when they shall find the system of this New Empire not only obstructing, but superseding the old system of Europe, and crossing upon the effects of all their settled maxims and accustomed measures, they will call upon these their Ministers and wise men, "*Come curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me.*" Their statesmen will be dumb, but the spirit of truth will answer, "*How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed? Or how shall I defy, whom the Lord hath not defied? From the top of the rock I see them, from the hills I behold them. Lo! the people shall DWELL ALONE,*

and shall NOT BE RECKONED AMONGST THE NATIONS." America is separated from Europe; she will dwell alone: She will have no connection with the politics of Europe; and she will not be reckoned amongst the Nations.

On the contrary, those Sovereigns of Europe who shall call upon their Ministers to state to them things *as they do really exist in Nature*, and treating those things *as being what they are*, shall require of these Ministers, that they take their system from Nature, instead of labouring in vain, to the misery of mankind the mean while, to force Nature to their predetermined courses and system: And who shall be in such circumstances and situation, as to be able to form, if not the earliest, yet the most sure and natural connection with North America, as being, what she is, AN INDEPENDENT STATE, THE MARKET OF AND A FREE PORT TO EUROPE; AS THAT BEING WHICH MUST HAVE A FREE MARKET IN EUROPE, will (coinciding with the movements, and partaking of the effects of the new system) become
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the principal leading Power in Europe, in regulating the courses of the rest, and in settling the common center of all.

England is the State that is in those circumstances and in that situation; the similar modes of living and thinking, the same manners and same fashions, the same language and old habits of national love, impressed in the heart and not yet effaced, the very indentings of the fracture whereat North-America stands broken off from her, all conspire naturally to a *rejuncture by alliance*. If, in the forming that juncture, England, no longer assuming to be what she no longer is, will treat America, and all other Beings, as what *they really are*, she might still have the ascendancy in trade and navigation, might still have a more solid and less invidious power than that

Magni Nominis umbra

with which she braves the whole world; she might yet have an active leading interest amongst the Powers of Europe. But she will not. As though the hand of judgment was upon her, England *will not see the things which make for her peace.*

France,

France, on the contrary, already (and other States will follow this example) *acknowledging those States to be what they are*, has formed alliances with them on terms of perfect equality and reciprocity. And behold the ascendant to which she directly rose from that politic humiliation.

There never was a wiser or firmer step taken by any established Power, than that which the New States in America took for their *first footing* in this alliance; there never was more address, art, or policy shewn by any State, than France has given proof of in the same; when both agreed and became allied on terms which exclude no other Power from enjoying the same benefits, by a like treaty.

Can it be supposed that other States, conceiving that the exclusive trade of England towards America is laid open, will not desire, and will not have, their share of it, and of the benefits to be derived from it? They certainly will. Here then come forward *the Beginnings of changes* in the European system.

There are too courses in which this
general

general intercommunion of commerce, betwixt Europe and North-America, may come into operation: the one will lye in special and particular treaties of commerce, with specific regulations and tariffs, made separately, from time to time, with each separate State: the other may come into operation by ALL THE MARITIME STATES OF EUROPE, either previous to, or in consequence of such separate treaties; either previous to their engaging in a general war, or upon the general settlement of a peace, MEETING IN SOME CONGRESS to regulate, amongst themselves, as well as with North-America, the FREE PORT, on one hand, and the FREE MARKET on the other; as also, general regulations of commerce and navigation, such as must suit *this free-trader, now common to them all, indifferently, and without preference.* Such regulations, in the first place, must exclude all monopoly of this source of supply and course of trade; and so far make an essential change in the commercial system: such regulations, not having reference only to America, but reciprocal references between

tween all the contracting parties, trading now under different circumstances, and standing towards each other in different predicaments, must necessarily change the whole of that system in Europe.

The American will come to market in his own shipping and will claim *the ocean as common*; will claim a *navigation restrained by no laws but the law of nations*, reformed as the rising crisis requires; will claim a *free market*, not only for the goods he brings, whencesoever he brings them, but also for the ships in which he brings them; the sale of his shipping will make part of his commerce. America being a free port to all Europe, the American will bring to Europe *not only his own peculiar staple produce*, but every species of his produce which the market of Europe can take off: he will expect to be free to offer to sale in the European market, every species of wrought materials, which he can make to answer in that market: and farther, as his commerce subsists, and is carried on by a circuitous interchange with other countries and regions, whence he brings articles,

cles, not simply for his own consumption, but as exchangeable articles, with which to trade in foreign markets; he will claim, as one of the conditions of the *free market*, that these foreign articles, as well as his own produce, shall be considered as free for him to import in his own shipping, to such market. Those States who refuse this at first, seeing others acquiesce in it, and seeing also how they profit by having articles of supply and trade brought so much cheaper to them, will be obliged, in their own defence, and to maintain their balance in the commercial world, to accede to the same liberty. Hence again, even if the American should not, by these means, become the ascendant interest in the carrying-trade, and in shipping and seamen, a most essential change must arise in the European system.

Again; the American raises his produce cheaper, and navigates cheaper, than any other can; his staple commodities are articles which he *alone* can supply; these will come to the market assorted with others, which he thus can *most conveniently* supply; and, unless the same liberty and freedom

of trade, which he enjoys, be reciprocally given and taken, by the European Powers, amongst each other, he will come to the European market on terms which no other can.

Nor is it in the articles which the American brings to sale, but in his manner of trading for those articles which he purchases, that the community in Europe will be affected, benefitted, and improved. There will be found not only a fair competition in the sales, but the *peculiar activity* of the American will raise, of course and as necessary, a spirit and activity amongst those who come to the same market. That peculiar turn of character in the American, before described, that inquisitiveness, which in business animates a spirit of investigation to every extent, and in the most minute detail, wherever information is to be had, excites and enables them to conduct their dealings in trade in a different and more advantageous manner than is usually practised by the European merchant. They acquire a knowledge not only of the markets of Europe, that is, of the wants
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and supplies, how they correspond, and of their relative values; but they never rest till they are possessed of, in the most minute degree, a knowledge of every article of produce and manufacture which comes to those markets; until they know the establishments, the operations, and the prices of labour, and the profits made on each, as well, or even better than merchants of the country themselves. This state of information, joined to their commercial activity, leads them to the immediate sources of all the supplies they want to purchase, without going through the channel of a foreign merchant or factor.

A little time before the breaking out of the troubles between England and America, several of the American merchants, especially those of Pennsylvania, sending some of their own house to England (as I am informed), became their own factors, went immediately to the manufacturers in Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Sheffield; to the woollen manufacturers in Yorkshire and Lancashire; to those of Liverpool; and to those in the West; and opened an

immediate traffick with them at the first hand. This same spirit of investigation, and this same commercial activity will in the same manner actuate their dealings in every other country of Europe where they have a free market.

The effect arising from this may appear, at first view to be disadvantageous to those countries, and may indeed affect the course of the European Merchant individually, but it will become a general blessing to the community of every country at large, by being the means of raising a more general competition and of diffusing a more equal or proportional share of profit between all ranks and orders of the industrious. While trade is solely in the hands of the Merchant, He, not from the nature of the man, but from the nature of trade itself, bears hard on the purchaser by his high rate of profit, and oppresses the manufacturer by the bare living share of profit he allows him; the Merchant grows rich and magnificent, makes a great bustle and a great figure: the eye of the world, attracted by the glare of these mercantile instances

stance of the advancing opulence in the country, has never accustomed itself to inquire, whether part of this princely magnificence is not derived from the depression of industry, occasioning, at the same time, a certain defalcation from the quantity of goods which would otherwise be produced? It can never be well with any country when the Merchants are Princes, or where the Prince is the Merchant. The more what the Merchant can make by high profits, the less in quantity (on every consideration) will he carry to market. It will be his interest to keep the market scantily stocked; it will become his interest, by the collateral occasion which this will give him, to represent the demand of the market as decreased, for thus he will keep down the manufacturer's profit. Whereas, on the contrary, is the moment that commerce becomes free and open; and, by the intermixture of this American spirit of trade, runs, with fair competition, in a broader channel: The merchant must make his way by being content with small profits; and by doing a deal of business on those

those small profits. The consumer and the manufacturer will come into more immediate contact, and be known to each other. The one will save the unreasonable advances which he used to pay, and the other will obtain a more equal share of the profits which arise on his labour. More work will be done; the profits of industry more equally distributed; the circulation of the vital nutritious juices will be diffused through the lesser vessels; and give universal life and health, and more perfect exuberance of growth to the whole community.

If these facts be true, and this representation of effects be according to Nature; and if these operations take this course; it will be needless to point out to the shrewd speculations of the merchants, what their conduct must necessarily be; but it will behove the Statesmen in the several Governments of Europe to be aware, that, while this change is in operation, they do not suffer the merchant to persuade them, that the general commerce is languishing and in decay, merely because there is not the same parade of wealth, in such dazzling instances,

instances, in the partial accumulated opulence of patricians. Let them look first to the market of supply in subsistence, and inquire, whether there is not plenty there? Next to the rude produce, which is the basis of manufactures, and inquire, whether, while more and more industry is daily called forth, it is not employed and more adequately paid by a free and extended vent? And whether, while the number and ingenuity of manufacturers increases and advances, they do not all live more comfortably, so as to be able to maintain, and consequently, in fact, to have, increasing families; whether population does not progressively encrease, as it meets the sources of industry in employment and pay. Let them, for the future, guard against the narrowed interest and exclusive temper of trade; while they encourage *by an attractive principle of general communion*, the genuine spirit and life of commerce.

The Political Founders of the old system in the old world, were totally ignorant of this principle of commerce: they seem not to have understood how this fruit-bearing tree

Tree was to be planted, or how to be cultivated. Instead of preparing, they wished to impoverish the soil from whence it should have drawn its nutrition; it was wisdom with them to render their neighbours and customers poor. They cramped and mangled the very roots by the various ways in which population was obstructed. Their impatient avarice sapped the very bole of its vital fluid, so as to drain off that circulation, which should give nutrition and increase to it; by a wretched system of taxation, they effectually prevented the stock of labour and profit from accumulating. They cut off the bearing branches (the husbandmen and manufacturers) by dragging these useful members to the barren labours of their standing armies. And what little fruit, after all, the poor languid starving Trees could produce, they gathered into monopolizing stores, lest others should share the profit of it. But if the Statesmen of the present more enlightened age will follow where experience, grounded in the actual state of things, leads to truth and right, they will throw the
activity

activity of mankind into its proper course of productive labour. When man hath the liberty of exerting his active powers of industry or ingenuity, as he can make them the most productive, and finds a free market for what he produces, and his share of profit in proportion to his efficiency in creating it, then is the ground duly prepared for the increasing population, opulence, and strength of the community: then will the Sovereigns of this old world find their soundest interest, and most efficient power, arising into amplitude and growth of state, through means of their People's happiness.

If the Sovereigns of Europe should now at length find in the example of England, that the system of establishing colonies in distant regions and various climates, in order to create a monopoly of the peculiar product of the labour of the people whom they send thither, *is at an end*; and would turn the same attention, with the same zeal, to *colonizing at home*; that is, should, like the Police of China, give source and exertion to their own internal

powers of production, should cultivate their waste lands, and improve their agriculture, and in its due turn, give every encouragement to manufacture; if they would abolish all those useless bonds of slavery, which operate in corporations and corporation-laws; which fix down the activity of the human being, as it were a plant, to a local vegetable life, where its real powers are fettered and locked up, which repel all equality and competition, which obstruct or pervert the very spirit of communion, and render those, who should live under it, aliens to each other: As all those wretched remnants of barbarism shall be removed, the productive powers of the community will create those surpluses which will become the source, and in the due course of nature, open in their turn the channels of commerce. If the European Statesmen, from experience of what has past, and been the effect of the system of Europe; from intuitive experience of the progressive State of America; should see the self-obstruction which arises from attempts to force an exclusive

exclusive commerce: should see, in the examples of Spain and England, the disappointed ends of attempts to establish a monopoly of navigation by the force of law, instead of creating or maintaining it by the spirit of an active commerce. Should see, that all the measures of prohibitions, by which the several States of Europe labour to repress the rest, do but depress themselves. They may at length come to a temper in thinking, at least, if they cannot yet bring themselves so to act, that to give freedom, scope, and activity to commerce, is the true system for every country, which in its nature and operations is actually commercial.

All this, I know, will be called speculation; and it is indeed, at present, but mere theory, yet having, by a series of experience, in repeated instances, and in some of great import, seen, that propositions which have been contemned and rejected in one country, have, in their due season, become operative wisdom in another. I will (hoping that I do not presume too much) proceed in this speculation.

I will suppose, that the Statesmen of the old world, checked at least in their career of war; entertaining some doubts, or hesitation at least, on the principles and maxims of their old system; perceiving that the æconomical activity in Europe is on the turn to take a new course; feeling, in fact, the force and expanding operations of an active commerce; finding themselves under the necessity of making some reform at least, *begin themselves to speculate*, how, amidst a number of Powers of trade, shifting their scale, an even balance may be formed, and secured in establishment; how, amidst a number of fluctuating interests, *buoyant on the turn of this great tide in the affairs of man*, an equal level may be obtained and maintained. If this should lead them to review their old system, and they should perceive how it is of itself prepared for change, perhaps they may find that Commerce, which might have risen by a competition in an active industry, a retentive frugality, and exertions of ingenuity, hath long been an exclusive scrambling rivalry; that

that * Commerce, instead of being (as in it's true nature it is) an equal, equable, universal operation of communion, which concentrates the enjoyments of all regions and climates, and consociates men of all nations, in a one mutual communion of all the blessings of Providence: when actuated as it hath been, by a repellant selfish principle, hath operated in Europe under the old system, as the golden apple of Discord, and been to the several neighbour nations an occasion of jealousies of each others powers of enjoyment; alternate depressions of each others interests; and a never-ceasing source of wars for many of the latter ages of the world: perhaps they may also then see that treaties of peace by which these have been terminated, are but truces; and that guarantees are but so many entangling preparations for future wars.

While they cannot but see things to have been so, on one hand, they will, I should

* Quid quod omnibus inter se populis commercium dedit? Ingens Naturæ beneficium, si illud in injuriam suam non vertat hominum furor. Sencæ Nat. Quest. Lib. 5 and 18.

should however hope, have satisfaction in perceiving, that the manners of mankind, softened and smoothed by degrees, have at length become more humanized; their society and police more civilized; that the world at large hath been rising nearer and nearer, every day, to a meridian which hath enlarged its views, which hath enlightened, and infused a more generous and liberal spirit into it; that although many of the old, oppressive, depressing forms and institutions of Government, as they respect the cultivators of the earth, the manufacturer, the internal market, the merchant and external commerce, have not yet been actually abolished; yet that practice, in the administration of those governments, hath by various accommodations, various facilities, abrogated their worst and most mischievous operations; that the activity of man finds every day more and more, a freer course; that it finds itself encouraged, where it is in a situation so to do, to engage in the culture (if I may so express myself) of the fruitfulness of the seas; that artificers and manufacturers begin to feel motives which

which not only prompt their industry, but encourage their ingenuity; that there are a thousands ways and channels (which though Pride will not open, Prudence will connive at) through which the intercourse of markets finds every year a more free and unrestrained vent; and that the active attraction and free spirit of commerce is, like the spirit of life, diffusing itself through the whole mass of Europe. They will find that, in fact, there is an end to all their *monopolizing systems*; that there is an absolute impracticability, and total inefficiency in every line and effort of their *repulsive measures*. Experience of past effects will, in the course of this review, mark to them, that any one of those Powers of Europe, who would aim to deal with the rest of mankind with an unequal balance; who would endeavour to pile up the flow of their commerce in a channel above the level of the circumfluent commerce; will only find in the end, that they have raised amongst their neighbour nations, a spirit of jealousy, a revulsion, and a temper of universal rivalry, that shall conspire to wrest that

that false balance out of their hands, and to depress them down again, to a level with the rest of the world. No other effect ever did or could derive from the European system of commercial policy ; these are the universal laws of nature, analogous in the moral, to those which operate in the natural world. The cities of Italy, those of the Low Countries, the States of Portugal, Holland, England, have all in their season, and for their period, as commercial powers, arisen above the common level of the rest of the world ; but over-pressing with a weight which was felt as unequal, by those placed below them ; they have each, in its turn, found, even in the moment of their highest elevations a general rising all around them, and themselves sinking to the common level.

If the Statesmen of Europe should, at length, begin to listen to these experiences, and to reason on these principles, they, reasoning, not like philosophers on abstract theory, but like politicians on the actual state of things, and wrought thus to a temper of treating, and acting towards
things

things *as they really are*; they must see how much it is the interest of All, to liberate each other from the *Restraints, Prohibitions and Exclusions*, by which they have reciprocally aimed to repress, and keep back that industrious activity, or at least the effect of it, which should otherwise have given source, in each respectively, to the common benefit and interest of All: They will see * “ that the most advantageous “ way which a landed nation” [prepared at the foundation as in this paper described] “ can take, to encourage and multiply “ Artificers, Manufacturers, and Merchants “ of their own, is to grant the most perfect “ freedom to the Artificers, Manufacturers, “ and Merchants of every other Nation:” That the *Repulsive System*, and *Exclusive Navigation*, on the contrary, lowers the value of their own internal surpluses, by raising the prices of all things which must be bought with them: And gives also to the Artificers, Manufacturers, and Merchants,

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* Dr. Adam Smith.

a monopoly against their own land-workers :
 Seeing this, they will encourage Population, first internally, by preparing the ground for the roots, which is the natural and most efficacious means, as hath been seen in America ; next by an universal Naturalization and Liberty of Conscience. Should the Sovereigns of Europe at length see this truth manifested by experience, which the politics of Statesmen, and the mysteries of Tradesmen, have so long hid from their eyes ; that *a general and universal freedom of Commerce*, under the present conspiring state of the men and things of the commercial world, can operate only to promote in the people of each Nation, the necessity of an active industry, œconomy, sobriety, experimental ingenuity, and a temper of equal justice, coinciding with the general communion of Commerce ; and that these virtues while they render each particular national community productive, populous, opulent and strong, do unite the interest of the Sovereign and the happiness of the People, in the power of the State : Elevated as their situation is, and above all local, partial

tial views, they must see, that, if Nature has so formed Man, if policy has so framed Society, that each labouring in his destined and defined line of labour, produces a surplus of supply, it is the law of Nature and of Nations, it is of perfect justice as well as policy, that men and nations should be free, reciprocally to interchange, and respectively as their wants mark the course, these surpluses: that this *Communion of Nations* with each other, by which they aid and profit each themselves, each other and all, is a right which may be enjoyed and exercised in its true and genuine spirit, and to its utmost extent, except in time of war, but even to great degree in time of war, without interfering in the political and civil power of the world; and that (if so) it ought to be thus enjoyed and exercised to the benefit and interest of each, and to the common good of all.

To those who *see things as they are*, and *reason upon them as being what they are*, the spirit of those *exclusive laws of navigation* which obstruct an equal system of universal communion, in commerce, will appear as

the spirit of piracy ; will appear in the extreme execution of them at the breaking out of hostilities, and oftentimes even in declared war, the same in the thing and fact as the robberies of those States which the Powers of Europe have decidedly called Piratical : they will see that the COMMON OCEAN, incapable of being defined, incapable of a special continued occupancy, incapable of receiving exclusively the labour of any individual person or State mixed with it, is *incapable of becoming an object of property* : that however the Authority of an usurped power of religion, however the Force of Empire, may attempt to give imaginary boundaries to the open, unbounded, undefined parts of this COMMON OCEAN, drawn by those who were as ignorant of Astronomy and Geography, as they were of the laws of Nature, as ignorant of Heaven as of Earth, boundaries which common justice never can fix, nor which common sense ever can find ; it *can never become an object of dominion* ; and that, therefore, the OCEAN should in policy, as it is in fact, remain common and free

Pervium cunctis iter.

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If the Sovereigns of Europe should in this view of things conceive that the Commercial System of Europe is changing in fact, and in wisdom and policy should be changed; that the great Commerce of North America, emancipated from its provincial state, not only coincides with, but is a concurring cause of, this change; that *the present combination of these events form a crisis*, which Providence, as it were, with a more than ordinary interposition hath prepared: and that Heaven itself seems to call upon them, to whom it hath committed the interest and happiness of mankind, to co-operate with its gracious Providence: if listening to the voice of reason, who brings experience in her hand, they should be convinced that of all the fruitless follies, which rivalry of ambition, or the restless reckless activity of politics hath ever drawn them into, there is nothing so absurd as warring against each other about an object which, as it is separated from Europe, will have nothing to do with its embroils, and will not belong exclusively to any of them. If listening to this voice, which

as that of an Angel, announcing peace and good-will to mankind, summons them to leave off the endless useless operations of war; to consider the present crisis as an object of Council and not of War; and, therefore, to meet in communications and intercourse of their reasoning powers: surely these Sovereigns, who hold themselves to be the Vicegerents of Heaven's power on earth, will act with this its manifested spirit and will.

The maritime powers of Europe, let them continue the war to what length of time they may, must (before peace, respecting that continent, respecting America, and the mixed interests of Europe and America, can be even treated of) must convene by their Consuls, Commissioners, or other Ministers, in order to consider the several points on which the war broke out, the points in claim and in actual contest, the points on which they may safely suspend hostilities, the points which must form the basis of treaty, and which will enter into the future system, the point on which peace by that system may not only be made but established

established amongst the nations of the Atlantic ocean. Will not then reason and benevolence, in which (in this peculiar crisis) true policy and their right and best interest is included, suggest to their hearts, and actuate their Councils to convene a Congress, *before they are engaged in further hostilities*, before the devastation of war extends ruin and misery yet further. Some such measure, derived from the same feelings and reasonings, actuated by the same motives, and pointing to the same views, as led the the several great Trading Bodies of Europe to *convene in a Congress*, which gave rise to the Hanseatic League, is neither contrary to, nor out of the course of public business; but is, on the other hand, what the nature of the present crisis in a more than ordinary necessity requires. In this model there is example in fact, precedents in wisdom and policy, applicable in the same manner to almost the same case as then existed. If the Statesman, who on such occasions are to advise their Sovereigns, should think that this example does not come up to the present case, or that the
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mechanic commercial reasoning of such homely parties can never be a model to the sublime of politics; this paper (just observing in the passing, that those who think so, know nothing of the wisdom of that League) would most humbly recommend it to these Statesmen, taking up the subject in an enlarged, liberal, philosophic view, to consider dispassionately, and weigh thoroughly, *whether some* GENERAL COUNCIL, on the model of that concerted between the great Henry of France and Elizabeth of England, two as noble spirits and as wise politicians as the world hath since seen, *should not now be proposed.* This Memoire does not mean a General Council, erected into the same establishment (although on the same base) as *their designs went to*, which was to the forming a Council of Administration, for regulating and conducting a general political system of all Europe. The general Council here suggested, is simply and definedly a *Council of Commerce*, for all Europe and North America (absolutely exclusive of all and every point of politics) formed by the several Sovereigns sending their

Commissioners or Ministers to convene, as a Chamber or Board, representing the several commercial interests of each State; and, on a general liberal plan and system of commerce, the conjunct and consociated common interest of All. As such it should remain a standing perpetual Council of deliberation and advice, and A SEAT OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION common to all. “*Continuellement assemble en corps de Senat pour deliberer sur les affaires survenantes, s’occuper à discuter les differents interets, pacifier les querelles, éclaircir & vuider tous les affaires---pour assurer mutuellement la liberté du commerce.*” Also as a GREAT AND GENERAL COURT OF ADMIRALTY, to take cognizance of such matters of commerce in litigation, as, according to its establishment, shall come duly before it: and of all offences which shall be committed against those general and common laws of trade, which shall have been, with ratification of the Sovereign Powers, established by it.

Such a Council might not only prevent a most dreadful general war, which seems to

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be coming on in Europe ; but, if it should be so happy as to agree on such reglements as would establish peace at present, might, for ever after be the means to prevent all future occasions of war, arising from commercial quarrels. Or, if the rage of war did force itself upon the world, it would then be a Seat of common justice, open to all nations, for the relief of the peaceable, industrious, and innocent, who should be accidentally or iniquitously injured by any of the warring parties : a seat of such justice as does not exist, and cannot be expected, in any private national Court of Admiralty, in the present state of nations. Whatever is the fate of every other part of this proposition, the present entangled, confounded, vague state of the marine law of nations, seems to be such, as creates a necessity, which must draw this part into establishment. At present, all principle, rule, and law, seems to be as much lost and gone, as if the nations were fallen back to the old state of piracy, under their old barbarism. Europe cannot, even in war, go on under the present abrogation of all treaties, and all the laws of nations.

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If the state of things, if the combination of events are, in fact, such as mark the necessity of some such General Council: If the minds and tempers of Sovereigns, whose hearts are in the hands of Providence, be in such frame as the impression of these things seems naturally to make: And if under this view of things, and in this spirit of wisdom, they should send their Commissioners or Ministers to convene in such a General Council, with powers and instructions to form some general laws and establishment on the ground of **UNIVERSAL COMMERCE**: the cardinal points which will most likely come under deliberation will be: 1st. How far, in right, and how far in policy, it may be best for All, to establish, on mutual agreement, the **MARE LIBERUM**: and how far each individual nation, (providing for the security of that peculiar property and dominion which they have, occupy, and duly hold, in local defined bays and harbours, &c. enclosed within the boundaries and coasts of their landed dominions) may accede to this establishment, as a law of nations.

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2dly. How far the universal *Jus Navigandi* may be, or can be established, consistent with the present national claims of the several Maritime States; or how those may be accommodated, mutually and reciprocally, so as to lead to such establishment hereafter. On this ground they will naturally meet each other, in forming at least some general system of regulations and laws, common to all, under which this universal commerce may act and be protected: So that the exercise of this right may extend wheresoever the ocean flows, and be as free as the air which wafts it over that ocean in all directions.

3dly. This will lead to deliberation on the *LIBERTAS UNIVERSALIS COMMERCIORUM*, FREE PORTS, and FREE MARKETS, in open equal traffick.

As a concomitant measure, or at least (these being settled) as a necessary consequence of them, the Members of this Council must enter into convention, afterwards to be ratified by the respective Sovereigns, of reciprocal stipulations and terms, as to Port Duties and Market Tolls.

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The adjustment of this latter point will derive, and naturally take its form from the mode of the establishment of the three former matters. They will, however, be best and most wisely settled, by those States who are in circumstances which enable them, and who are under such a spirit of wisdom as will direct them, to abolish, by degrees, all Port Duties; and to raise their revenue by Excise, Tailles, and other internal sources of finance, as are collected not from the seller, where every imposition lays with redoubled load of tax on the Subject, and comes with defalcated and defective revenue to the State, but immediately on the consumer; where the load must be proportioned to the abilities of his bearing it, and whence, whatever is collected, comes in full to the State. " Add to this, that it would be a means of making that country which adopted this measure, A FREE PORT; a circumstance very desirable to every well-wisher of his country. See then whether it does not deserve the care of every worthy patriot

patriot to make such a scheme (if it can be) feasible and practicable."*

If the State of Europe, by its circumstances and modes of business, by the spirit of its politicks, by the temper and understanding of its Sovereigns, is not yet prepared and ripe for any such general system and establishment of **UNIVERSAL COMMERCE**, under the **MARE LIBERUM**, the **JUS NAVIGANDI**, and the **LIBERTAS UNIVERSALIS COMMERCIORUM**: The business of this Council will turn on the making of such alterations, accommodations, and reform in the old system, as may suit and follow the changes of it. They will, therefore, deliberate first, on the nature and extent of the conditional grants of privileges of trade, which, under the air of protection, they shall offer to America: Under this idea they must settle with Her and amongst each other quite new arrangements of tariffs. As they shall advance in multiplication of difficulties, and by degrees to a conviction of the impracticability of this line of measures; they

* Sir Mat. Decker.

will,

will, by degrees, raise even in their own ideas, this nation to be States admitted, and next go upon the experiment of treaties of commerce with her, on the old European system. Experience will teach them, that this will create a rivalry, which will evade and break all treaties of commerce. Here then will they come round in a circle to the point of necessity, as herein before stated, which, first or last, must force into establishment, the measure described in this paper. † *Voilà tout ce qu' on peut raisonablement exiger, Il n' est au pouvoir de l' humanité, que de preparer et agir. Le Succes est l' Ouvrage d' une main plus puissante.*

† Duc de Sulli, Liv. 30.

F I N I S.